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Old South Leaflets.

No. 151.

Commodore Perry's Landing in Japan.

FROM THE "NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION OF AN AMERICAN SQUADRON TO THE CHINA SEAS AND JAPAN, PERFORMED IN THE YEARS 1852, 1853, AND 1854, UNDER THE COMMAND OF COMMODORE M. C. PERRY," PUBLISHED, BY ORDER OF CONGRESS, IN 1856.

The day appointed for the reception of a reply from Yedo (Tuesday, July 12, 1853) had now arrived. Accordingly, at about half past nine o'clock in the morning, three boats were seen to approach the steamer *Susquehanna* from the shores of Uraga. These were different from the usual government craft, and seemed, unlike the others, to be built after an European model; the rowers sat to their oars, and moved them as our boatmen do, though somewhat awkwardly, instead of standing and sculling at the sides, in accordance with the usual Japanese practice. The construction of the boats was evidently very strong, and their models fair. Their masts, sails, and rigging were of the ordinary Japanese fashion. The crews were numerous, there being thirty in the largest boat, and thirteen in each of the others, and their great swarthy frames were clothed in the usual uniform of loose blue dresses slashed with white stripes.

The boat in advance was distinguished, in addition to the government mark of a horizontal black stripe across her broad sail, by the black and white flag, which indicated the presence of some officers of distinction, and such in fact were now on board of her. As she approached nearer to the ship, the governor, Kayama Yezaiman, in his rich silken robes, was recognized,

seated on mats spread in the centre of the deck of the vessel, and surrounded by his interpreters and suite.

The advance boat now came alongside, leaving the other two floating at some distance from the *Susquehanna*. His highness, Kayama Yezaiman, with his two interpreters, Hori Tatznoske, the principal, and Fatcisko Tokushumo, his second, were admitted at once on board, and, having been received with due formality, were ushered into the presence of Captains Buchanan and Adams, who were prepared to communicate with them.

The Commodore had, previously to the arrival of the governor, written the following letter to the Emperor:—

UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE *SUSQUEHANNA*,
Uraga, July 12, 1853.

The Commander-in-chief of the United States naval forces in these seas, being invested with full powers to negotiate treaties, is desirous of conferring with one of the highest officers of the Empire of Japan, in view of making arrangements for the presentation of the original of his letter of credence, as also the original of a letter with which he is charged, addressed to his Imperial Majesty by the President of the United States.

It is hoped that an early day will be appointed for the proposed interview.

To his Imperial Majesty the EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

The governor's first statement was to the effect that there had been a misapprehension as to the delivery of the translations of the papers before the originals had been received. Although the Commodore was certain that there had been no such misunderstanding, nevertheless he, on the second interview in the course of the afternoon, consented, after much discussion, to deliver the translations and originals, as also a letter from himself to the Emperor, at the same time, provided the latter should appoint a suitable officer to receive them directly from the hands of the Commodore, who repeated that he would consent to present them to no other than a Japanese dignitary of the highest rank. The governor then said that a building would be erected on shore for the reception of the Commodore and his suite, and that a high official personage, specially appointed by the Emperor, would be in attendance to receive the letters. He, however, added that no answer would be given in the bay of Yedo, but that it would be transmitted to Nagasaki, through the Dutch or Chinese superintendents. This being reported to the Commodore, he

wrote the following memorandum and directed it to be translated into Dutch, and fully explained to the governor:—

“The Commander-in-chief will not go to Nagasaki, and will receive no communication through the Dutch or Chinese.

“He has a letter from the President of the United States to deliver to the Emperor of Japan, or to his secretary of foreign affairs, and he will deliver the original to none other: if this friendly letter of the President to the Emperor is not received and duly replied to, he will consider his country insulted, and will not hold himself accountable for the consequences.

“He expects a reply of some sort in a few days, and he will receive such reply nowhere but in this neighborhood.” [Bay of Uruga.]

When this was communicated to the governor, he took his departure, probably to consult some higher authority, as doubtless there was more than one high officer of the court at Uruga, secretly directing the negotiations. The interview had lasted three hours, and it was fully one o'clock before the governor left the ship. All passed in the most quiet way without any interruption to the usual courtesies of friendly negotiation. The shore showed every indication of tranquillity, and no movement was observed on the part of the fortresses or the many government boats along the shore.

The governor, in accordance with his promise on leaving in the morning, returned in the afternoon accompanied, as usual, by his interpreters and suite. He came off, however, in one of the ordinary Japanese boats, and not, as earlier in the day, in the vessel built after the European model. Captains Buchanan and Adams were in readiness to receive the party, and resumed the renewed conference with the same form and ceremony as before; the Commodore still preserving his seclusion and communicating with the Japanese only through others. The conversation is here given verbatim as reported.

CONVERSATION.

Present Captains Buchanan and Adams, Lieutenant Contee, Flag Lieutenant, and Yezaiman, governor of Uruga, and interpreters.

Yezaiman. As it will take a great deal of time to send up the copies of the letters first, and the originals afterward, I propose that the originals and the copies be delivered together, when

the high officer comes. The governor and the high officer will do their best to entertain the Admiral and give him a suitable reception.

Capt. Buchanan. That is not the object of the Commodore: he wishes these communications to go because there is among them a letter to the Emperor from himself, which he desires to send to Yedo with the copies. The reply to the President's letter is not of so much consequence just now. We want a reply to the Commodore's letter which is in the package.

Yezaiman. If you send the original letter, we will reply to it as soon as possible. We are here for the purpose of receiving the letter from the President to the Emperor, but now you speak of a letter from the Admiral to the Emperor.

Capt. B. The letter from the Admiral is in the package containing the copies of the President's letter. It states that he has in his possession the original letter of the President, and is empowered by the President to deliver it in person to the Emperor, or to a high officer of equal rank with himself, appointed by the Emperor.

Yezaiman. We are very sorry that you separate the two; it would be better to send the originals at once with the copies.

Capt. B. That is impossible. The letter of the Admiral states that he has the original letter of the President, and is empowered to deliver it, either in person or to an officer of his own rank; when the emperor is aware of the fact that the Admiral has the letter, then he will appoint an officer of the same rank to receive the original, and the Admiral will return at some future day to receive the answer.

Yezaiman. Can you not contrive to manage it in such a way that the original letter may be sent with the copies?

Capt. B. It cannot be done.

Yezaiman. When the ships first came, it was not mentioned that the copies must be sent first, and not the original letters; and now you mention it.

Capt. B. During the first visit you made here, you were shown the original letters, and also the copies, and the same statement was then made by us as now.—(*After a pause Captain B. resumed.*)—Will the high officer who will come here be accredited by the Emperor to receive the letters from the Admiral?

Yezaiman. He has the authorization of the Emperor.

Capt. B. Will he have any proof to show that he is thus authorized?

Yezaiman. Yes, he can prove it.

Capt. B. One of the letters is from the President, informing the Emperor of Japan that Commodore Perry is sent as a high officer appointed by himself, and Commodore Perry will expect similar credentials on the part of the officer appointed to speak with him.

Yezaiman. He will receive the letter, but cannot enter into any negotiations.

Capt. B. What is the rank and official title of the officer who is appointed?—(*While the interpreter is writing the title of the officer in question, in Chinese characters, Captains Buchanan and Adams retire to consult with the Commodore.*)

Lieutenant Contee. When will the high officers be ready to receive the letter?

Interpreter. To-morrow or the day after.

Lieut. C. Where is the house?

Interpreter. On the shore.

Lieut. C. Can you point it out from here?

Interpreter. It cannot be seen.

Lieut. C. (repeating his last question). Can you point it out from here?

Interpreter. It is on the other side of the hills: you can see it from another position.

Lieut. C. What was the name of the officer who came on board on the day of our arrival?

Interpreter. Nagazhima Saberoske.

(*Captains Buchanan and Adams now returned.*)

Captain Buchanan. Captain Adams and I have just had a conversation with the Admiral.* He says that, since you appear to have wholly misunderstood the matter about the letter, if you can show proof that an officer of the proper rank is appointed to receive them, he will waive the matter in dispute, and deliver the original at the same time with the copies. But he requires strict evidence that the officer who shall meet him shall be of the necessary rank, and that he has been specially appointed for the purpose by the Emperor.

Yezaiman. Nagasaki is the proper place to receive letters from foreign nations, and, because Uraga is not an appropriate place, the officer will not be allowed to converse, but only to receive the letters.

* "It is proper to remark that the title of Admiral was necessarily used at these interviews, to designate your rank, as we found Yezaiman's interpreters were familiar with it, and were entirely unacquainted with that of Commodore."—*Extract from Captain Adams' official report to Commodore Perry.*

Capt. B. He is only desired to receive the letters. Will he come on board, or will the letters be delivered on shore?

Yezaïman. He will not come on board, but will receive them on shore.

Capt. B. Before the letters are delivered, the credentials of the officer must be translated into Dutch, signed with the proper signatures, and sent on board to the Admiral.

Yezaïman. He will be accredited to receive the letter, but cannot speak.

Capt. B. He will not be desired to speak, but he must have a paper signed by the Emperor, stating that he is empowered to receive the letters.

Yezaïman. He will have a document properly signed.

[*Captain Buchanan now directed Mr. Portman to write in Dutch the declaration he had made, and to give it to the interpreter.* The following is the English version: "There has been a great deal of misunderstanding about receiving the original letter and the translated copies, whether to be received together or separately. The Admiral now is willing to meet with a high officer of Yedo, holding rank in Japan corresponding to the rank of Admiral in the United States. This officer shall be accredited, namely, possess a writing properly signed by the Emperor, authorizing him to receive the said letters. Of this writing or letter of credence shall be made a copy, translated into Dutch, and the same copy be transmitted to the Admiral before the interview takes place.

"At this interview there shall be no discussions whatever; no more than an exchange of civilities and compliments.

"The Admiral does not insist upon receiving an answer to the original letter of the President immediately, but will come back for that purpose after some months."]

Yezaïman. The high officer will not be allowed to speak on the matter; only to make and return compliments.

Capt. B. That is all that is necessary.

Yezaïman. The high officer will be here the day after tomorrow, to receive the letter on shore.

Capt. B. At what hour?

Yezaïman. At eight o'clock in the morning. As soon as we see the flag hoisted, we will come on board the ship.

Capt. B. Will the high officer bring the copy of the letter empowering him to act, properly certified?

Yezaïman. He will bring it.

Interpreter. The governor is very grateful for his kind reception on board.

Capt. B. We are very happy to see him. Where is the place of reception?

Interpreter. I can point out the place, but the house cannot be seen.

Yezaiman. Will the Admiral await the Emperor's answer to the President's letter?

Capt. B. No: the Admiral will not now wait for it.

Yezaiman. When will he come for a reply?

Capt. B. He will return in a few months to receive the Emperor's reply.

Yezaiman. I would desire a statement in writing to that effect. [There being no satisfactory answer to this, Yezaiman continued.] The high officer who receives the letter of the President will give a receipt for it, as an assurance that it has been received.

Capt. B. Can you not appoint a place nearer the ship? The distance is very great for the men to pull in a boat. The Admiral will be satisfied to meet the high officer in a tent, or in one of the forts nearer the ships. The interview will not be long.

Interpreter. The house is not far off; it is less than a Japanese mile.

Capt. B. Can you not arrange to have it nearer the ships?

Interpreter. The governor says he will endeavor to arrange it.

Capt. B. Can you let us know to-morrow morning?

Interpreter. Yes.

The conference here ended.

Kayama Yezaiman and his companions seemed to be in the highest good humor, and readily availed themselves of the proffered courtesies of the officers of the *Susquehanna*, which were accepted and responded to in a manner indicating the most polished good breeding. In receiving the hospitalities of their hosts, it may be remarked that they partook freely, and seemed to relish particularly the whiskey and brandy which formed part of the entertainment. The governor especially appeared to appreciate the foreign liquors, particularly when mixed with sugar, and smacked his lips with great gusto, as he drained his glass to its last sweetened dregs. His interpreters, in the growing freedom of convivial enjoyment, made merry over his highness' bacchanalian proclivity, and, laughingly expressing their alarm lest Yezaiman should take a drop too much, remarked, "His face is already growing red."

Though always preserving a certain gentlemanly aplomb and that self-cultivated manner which bespeaks high breeding, these Japanese dignitaries were disposed to be quite social, and shared freely and gayly in conversation. Nor did their knowledge and general information fall short of their elegance of manners and amiability of disposition. They were not only well-bred, but not ill-educated, as they were proficient in the Dutch, Chinese, and Japanese languages, and not unacquainted with the general principles of science and of the facts of the geography of the world. When a terrestrial globe was placed before them, and their attention was called to the delineation on it of the United States, they immediately placed their fingers on Washington and New York, as if perfectly familiar with the fact that one was the capital, and the other the commercial metropolis of our country. They also, with equal promptitude, pointed out England, France, Denmark, and other kingdoms of Europe. Their inquiries in reference to the United States showed them not to be entirely ignorant of the facts connected with the material progress of our country; thus, when they asked if roads were not cut through our mountains, they were referring (as was supposed) to tunnels on our railroads. And this supposition was confirmed on the interpreter's asking, as they examined the ship's engine, whether it was not a similar machine, although smaller, which was used for travelling on the American roads. They also inquired whether the canal across the isthmus was yet finished, alluding probably to the Panama railroad which was then in process of construction. They knew, at any rate, that labor was being performed to connect the two oceans, and called it by the name of something they had seen, a canal.

After refreshments and conversation in the cabin, Yezaiman and his interpreters were invited to inspect the ship, an offer which they accepted with great politeness, and as they came upon deck, notwithstanding there were crowds of officers and men around who could scarce repress the manifestation of their curiosity, the Japanese never for a moment lost their self-possession, but showed the utmost composure and quiet dignity of manner. They evinced an intelligent interest in all the various arrangements of the vessel, observed the big gun and rightly styled it a "Paixhan," exhibited none of that surprise which would naturally be expected from those who were beholding for the first time the wonderful art and mechanism of a perfected steamship. The engine evidently was an object of great interest to them, but

the interpreters showed that they were not entirely unacquainted with its principles. Much of this cool but not unobservant composure may have been affected, in accordance with a studied policy, but yet there can be no doubt that, however backward the Japanese themselves may be in practical science, the best educated among them are tolerably well informed of its progress among more civilized or rather cultivated nations.

On leaving the cabin, the Japanese dignitaries had left their swords behind, two of which are always worn by those of certain rank in the empire. This gave an opportunity for inspection, on the part of the curious, of these badges of authority, which seemed to be, in accordance with their purpose, more suited for show than service. The blades, however, were apparently of good steel and temper, and highly polished, although their shape as well as that of their hilts, without a guard, was awkwardly constructed for use. The mountings were of pure gold, and the scabbards of shark's skin, remarkably well manufactured. The visit of the governor was prolonged into the evening, and it was seven o'clock before he took his departure, when he and his interpreters left the ship with their usual graceful courtesies, bowing at every step, and smiling in an amiable yet dignified manner. They were evidently favorably impressed with their reception and all they had seen. The studied politeness which marked their intercourse with our officers was evidently not assumed for the occasion, for it is so habitual with them that in their ordinary relations with each other they preserve the same stately courtesy; and it was observed that no sooner had Yezaiman and his interpreters entered their boat alongside the Susquehanna than they commenced saluting each other as formally as if they had met for the first time and were passing through the ceremonials of a personal introduction. While these scenes were in transaction on board, the boats of the squadron sent out by the Commodore were kept busy all day sounding and observing, as on previous occasions.

The next day was Wednesday (July 13), and the visit of the governor was naturally expected at an early hour, in fulfilment of his promise. There was, however, no indication through the morning of his coming, and everything remained in a state of tranquil expectation. There seemed to be some little movement on the part of the authorities, as far as could be gathered from an observation of the neighboring land. From the opposite shores numerous vessels, loaded with soldiers, crossed to the Uraga side,

and a large junk with the usual government flag and insignia put into the harbor. The brisk trade of the bay was carried on as usual, and Japanese boats, both large and small, were moving up and down in constant circulation. The various towns and villages grouped about the bay were thus interchanging their elements of life, and, stimulated into commercial activity by the throb from the busy heart of the great city, poured into Yedo their overflowing abundance. There were no less than sixty-seven junks counted as passing up the bay during the single day.

The weather continued warm, with the thermometer indicating as high a point as 87°, but the heat was tempered by an agreeable sea breeze. The view of the shores was much obscured at times by the haze which is said to be so prevalent on the Japanese coast; but in the experience of the squadron the weather hitherto had been remarkably clear, and this day was the foggiest that had been seen since the ships arrived in the bay. Nothing could be seen of the great landmark,—the lofty peak of Fusi,—which, by the way, was generally more plainly visible toward the evening than during the day, and was often observed beautifully distinct at sunset, when its summits would glow with a rich halo of crimson light.

The expected visit of the governor occurred at last, at about four o'clock in the afternoon. His highness Kayama Yezaiman, accompanied, as usual, by his first and second interpreters, presented himself, with a thousand apologies for not having come earlier, as the high officer from Yedo had but just arrived. The apologies having been made, the governor exhibited the original order of the Emperor, addressed to the functionary who had been appointed to receive the Commodore. The Emperor's letter was short, and was certified by a large seal attached to it. This imperial epistle, which was wrapped in velvet, and enclosed in a box made of sandal-wood, was treated by the governor with such reverence that he would allow no one to touch it. A copy of it in Dutch, and a certificate verifying the authenticity of the document, and of the Emperor's seal attached thereto, given under the hand of Kayama Yezaiman, the governor, were also presented. The translations were as follows:—

Translation of letter of credence given by the Emperor of Japan to his highness, Toda, Prince of Idzu.

I send you to Uruga to receive the letter of the President of the United States to me, which letter has recently been brought to Uruga

by the Admiral, upon receiving which you will proceed to Yedo, and take the same to me.

[Here is the Emperor's seal.]

SIXTH MONTH IN 1853.

Translation of certificate of Kayama Yezaiman, governor of Uruga, verifying the authenticity of the Emperor's letter and seal.

You can rest assured that the high officer who has been accredited by the Emperor of Japan himself, and who consequently comes here to Uruga from Yedo for the purpose of receiving the original and translated letters, is of very high rank, equal to that of the Lord Admiral. I do assure that.

KAYAMA YEZAIMAN.

The governor, 'in the course of the conference, took care to state that the person appointed by the Emperor had no authority to enter into discussions with the Commodore, but was merely empowered to receive the papers and convey them to his sovereign. He also stated that he had made inquiry as to the practicability of changing the place of meeting, and said that, as a suitable building had already been erected, it would be inconvenient to change. The Commodore was prepared for this reply, and, as he could not know whether any treachery was intended or not, he had determined to provide, as far as he could, against every contingency, and had therefore ordered the surveying party to examine the little bay at the head of which the building had been erected for his reception. The officers sent upon this service promptly performed the duty, and reported that the ships could be brought within gunshot of the place, where great numbers of the people had been observed employed in the completion of the building, in transporting furniture, and in otherwise preparing for the occasion.

The governor offered to accompany a boat to the place appointed for the reception, but this was declined, and he was informed that, as it did not befit the dignity of the Commodore to proceed a long distance in a small boat, the squadron would be removed to a position nearer the building designed for the reception. It was then agreed that the Commodore and his party should leave the ships between eight and nine o'clock the next day (Thursday), although the Japanese seemed particularly anxious that the interview should take place at an earlier hour, assigning as a reason that the heat of the day might thus be avoided.

The question was now asked as to how many officers would

accompany the Commodore on the occasion, to which they received the answer that he would be followed by a large retinue, since it was the custom of the United States, when an officer of high rank bears a communication from the President to the sovereign of another country, for him to go with such an attendance as will be respectful to the power to which he is sent. Accordingly, the governor was informed that all the officers who could be spared from the squadron would accompany the Commodore, as the greater number would imply the greater compliment.

In the course of the conference the Japanese dignitaries showed their great regard for ceremony by adverting to various minute points of etiquette in reference to the approaching reception. They announced that all the Japanese officers would be clothed in full official costume, and not in the dresses worn on ordinary occasions. They seemed to be considerably troubled because they would not be able to seat their visitors, on the morrow, in the same kind of arm-chair as that then occupied by themselves in the cabin, and apologized for not having any such. They were no less anxious on the score of the wines and brandies, and begged that they might be excused for not offering the same as they had been regaled with, since the country did not possess them. They were told to dismiss their solicitude on these points; that, as the practice of hospitality, and manners and customs necessarily differed in different countries, it was not reasonable to expect to find American habits prevailing in Japan; and that the Commodore would be satisfied to be seated in the same manner as the dignitary appointed to meet him, while the other American officers would content themselves with such seats as were provided for their equals in rank among the Japanese.

They then made some inquiries in regard to the minute details of the approaching ceremony, as to whether the Commodore would present the President's letter directly from his own hand into that of the Japanese commissioner, whose name and title, by the way, were now announced as Toda-Idzu-no-Kami, First Counsellor of the Empire.

It was asked whether the Commodore would immediately return to his ship after delivering the letter, and also when he would come back to Japan to receive an answer. The Chinese interpreter, Mr. Williams, showed them a map or plan of Yedo, which they said must have been drawn some seventy years ago, as the capital had changed much since the plan was made, having greatly

increased in size, and much improved. They, however, recognized on the plan various conspicuous places, and pointed them out very readily, as if politely willing to gratify the natural curiosity of their company.

The whole conference had lasted about two hours and a half, and when the Japanese functionaries rose to depart it was already evening. They left the ship with the usual polite courtesies, bowing, as usual, at every step; and the chief interpreter Hori Tatznoske, who had evidently a great aptitude for the acquisition of foreign languages, mustered English enough to say very distinctly as he departed, "Want to go home."

The Commodore, in preparation for the coming event of the next morning, summoned his captains, from the several vessels of the squadron, on board the flag-ship. Orders were then given that the vessels should be removed, early in the morning, to an anchorage in line, covering the whole bay, in front of the place of reception,* as the Commodore was resolved to be prepared against any possible treachery or duplicity on the part of the people with whom he had to deal, and as the object of the Japanese in the selection of this place of meeting was not very apparent to his mind. It was also ordered that all the officers who could possibly leave the ships should appear in full uniform, and accompany the Commodore to the reception, in order that he might present as imposing a retinue as practicable. The surveying boats had been kept busy during the day, completing their observations, and were allowed to proceed with their work without any molestation from the native authorities.

The Japanese seemed no less busy in active preparation for the morning's ceremony than the Americans. Various government vessels sailed down the bay, and a large fleet of small boats arrived on the Uraga shore from the opposite coast, evidently preparatory to the approaching occasion. A constant sound of hammers, intermingled with the noisy voices of Japanese laborers, arising as was supposed from the quarter where the building was in progress, disturbed the quiet of the night and was prolonged into the morning watches. All was busy preparation for the coming day.

Thursday (July 14) opened with a sun that was somewhat obscured at early dawn, but which soon came out brightly and dispelled the fogs and clouds which overhung the land and seemed to give an inauspicious aspect to the occasion. As the atmos-

* Marked on the chart as "Reception Bay."

phere cleared and the shores were disclosed to view, the steady labors of the Japanese during the night were revealed in the showy effect on the Uraga shore. Ornamental screens of cloth had been so arranged as to give a more distinct prominence, as well as the appearance of greater size to the bastions and forts; and two tents had been spread among the trees. The screens were stretched tightly in the usual way upon posts of wood, and each interval between the posts was thus distinctly marked, and had, in the distance, the appearance of panelling. Upon these seeming panels were emblazoned the imperial arms, alternating with the device of a scarlet flower bearing large heart-shaped leaves. Flags and streamers, upon which were various designs represented in gay colors, hung from the several angles of the screens, while behind them thronged crowds of soldiers, arrayed in a costume which had not been before observed, and which was supposed to belong to high occasions only. The main portion of the dress was a species of frock of a dark color, with short skirts, the waists of which were gathered in with a sash, and which was without sleeves, the arms of the wearers being bare.

All on board the ships were alert from the earliest hour, making the necessary preparations. Steam was got up and the anchors were weighed that the ships might be moved to a position where their guns could command the place of reception. The sailing vessels, however, because of a calm, were unable to get into position. The officers, seamen, and marines who were to accompany the Commodore were selected, and as large a number of them mustered as could possibly be spared from the whole squadron. All, of course, were eager to bear a part in the ceremonies of the day, but all could not possibly go, as a sufficient number must be left to do ships' duty. Many of the officers and men were selected by lot, and when the full complement, which amounted to nearly three hundred, was filled up, each one busied himself in getting his person ready for the occasion. The officers, as had been ordered, were in full official dress, while the sailors and marines were in their naval and military uniforms of blue and white.

Before eight bells in the morning watch had struck, the *Susquehanna* and *Mississippi* moved slowly down the bay. Simultaneously with this movement of our ships, six Japanese boats were observed to sail in the same direction, but more within the land. The government striped flag distinguished two of them, showing the presence of some high officials, while the others car-

ried red banners, and were supposed to have on board a retinue or guard of soldiers. On doubling the headland, which separated the former anchorage from the bay below, the preparations of the Japanese on the shore came suddenly into view. The land bordering the head of the bay was gay with a long stretch of painted screens of cloth, upon which was emblazoned the arms of the Emperor. Nine tall standards stood in the centre of an immense number of banners of divers lively colors, which were arranged on either side, until the whole formed a crescent of variously tinted flags, which fluttered brightly in the rays of the morning sun. From the tall standards were suspended broad pennons of rich scarlet which swept the ground with their flowing length. On the beach in front of this display were ranged regiments of soldiers, who stood in fixed order, evidently arrayed to give an appearance of martial force, that the Americans might be duly impressed with the military power of the Japanese.

As the beholder faced the bay, he saw on the left of the village of Gori-Hama a straggling group of peak-roofed houses, built between the beach and the base of the high ground which ran in green acclivities behind, and ascended from height to height to the distant mountains. A luxuriant valley or gorge, walled in with richly wooded hills, opened at the head of the bay, and, breaking the uniformity of the curve of the shore, gave a beautiful variety to the landscape. On the right some hundred Japanese boats, or more, were arranged in parallel lines along the margin of the shore, with a red flag flying at the stern of each. The whole effect, though not startling, was novel and cheerful, and everything combined to give a pleasing aspect to the picture. The day was bright, with a clear sunlight which seemed to give fresh vitality alike to the verdant hillsides and the gay banners and the glittering soldiery. Back from the beach, opposite the centre of the curved shore of the bay, the building, just constructed for the reception, rose in three pyramidal-shaped roofs, high above the surrounding houses. It was covered in front by striped cloth, which was extended in screens to either side. It had a new, fresh look, indicative of its recent erection, and with its peaked summits was not unlike, in the distance, a group of very large ricks of grain.

Two boats approached as the steamers neared the opening of the bay, and when the anchors were dropped they came alongside the *Susquehanna*. Kayama Yezaiman, with his two interpreters, came on board, followed immediately by Nagazima Saboroske

and an officer in attendance, who had come in the second boat. They were duly received at the gangway and conducted to seats on the quarter deck. All were dressed in full official costume, somewhat different from their ordinary garments. Their gowns, though of the usual shape, were much more elaborately adorned. The material was of very rich silk brocade of gay colors, turned up with yellow velvet, and the whole dress was highly embroidered with gold lace in various figures, among which was conspicuously displayed on the back, sleeves, and breast the arms of the wearer. Saboroske, the sub-governor of Uraga, wore a pair of very broad but very short trousers, which, when his legs (which was not often the case) stood still and together, looked very much like a slit petticoat, while below his nether limbs were partly naked and partly covered by black woollen socks. Saboroske, in spite of his elaborate toilette and his finery, all bedizened with gold thread, glossy silk, and gay colors, did not produce a very impressive effect; but by his comical appearance provoked mirth rather than admiration. He had, in fact, very much the appearance of an unusually brilliant knave of trumps.

A signal was now hoisted from the *Susquehanna* as a summons for the boats from the other ships, and in the course of half an hour they had all pulled alongside with their various officers, sailors, and marines, detailed for the day's ceremonies. The launches and cutters numbered no less than fifteen, and presented quite an imposing array; and with all on board them, in proper uniform, a picturesque effect was not wanting. Captain Buchanan, having taken his place in his barge, led the way, flanked on either side by the two Japanese boats containing the governor and vice-governor of Uraga with their respective suites; and these dignitaries acted as masters of ceremony and pointed out the course to the American flotilla. The rest of the ships' boats followed after in order, with the cutters containing the two hands of the steamers, who enlivened the occasion with their cheerful music.

The boats skimmed briskly over the smooth waters; for such was the skill and consequent rapidity of the Japanese scullers that our sturdy oarsmen were put to their mettle to keep up with their guides. When the boats had reached half-way to the shore, the thirteen guns of the *Susquehanna* began to boom away and re-echo among the hills. This announced the departure of the Commodore, who, stepping into his barge, was rowed off to the land.

The guides in the Japanese boats pointed to the landing place toward the centre of the curved shore, where a temporary wharf had been built out from the beach by means of bags of sand and straw. The advance boat soon touched the spot, and Captain Buchanan, who commanded the party, sprang ashore, being the first of the Americans who landed in the Kingdom of Japan. He was immediately followed by Major Zeilin, of the marines. The rest of the boats now pulled in and disembarked their respective loads. The marines (one hundred) marched up the wharf and formed into line on either side, facing the sea; then came the hundred sailors, who were also ranged in rank and file as they advanced, while the two bands brought up the rear. The whole number of Americans, including sailors, marines, musicians, and officers, amounted to nearly three hundred; no very formidable array, but still quite enough for a peaceful occasion, and composed of very vigorous, able-bodied men, who contrasted strongly with the smaller and more effeminate-looking Japanese. These latter had mustered in great force, the amount of which the governor of Uraga stated to be five thousand; but, seemingly, they far outnumbered that. Their line extended around the whole circuit of the beach, from the further extremity of the village to the abrupt acclivity of the hill which bounded the bay on the northern side; while an immense number of the soldiers thronged in, behind and under cover of the cloth screens which stretched along the rear. The loose order of this Japanese army did not betoken any very great degree of discipline. The soldiers were tolerably well armed and equipped. Their uniform was very much like the ordinary Japanese dress. Their arms were swords, spears, and match-locks. Those in front were all infantry, archers and lancers; but large bodies of cavalry were seen behind, somewhat in the distance, as if held in reserve. The horses of these seemed of a fine breed, hardy, of good bottom, and brisk in action; and these troopers, with their rich caparisons, presented at least a showy cavalcade. Along the base of the rising ground which ascended behind the village, and entirely in the rear of the soldiers, was a large number of the inhabitants, among whom there was quite an assemblage of women, who gazed with intense curiosity, through the openings in the line of the military, upon the stranger visitors from another hemisphere.

On the arrival of the Commodore his suite of officers formed a double line along the landing place, and, as he passed up between, they fell into order behind him. The procession was then

formed and took up its march toward the house of reception, the route to which was pointed out by Kayama Yezaiman and his interpreter, who preceded the party. The marines led the way, and, the sailors following, the Commodore was duly escorted up the beach. The United States flag and the broad pennant were borne by two athletic seamen, who had been selected from the crews of the squadron on account of their stalwart proportions. Two boys, dressed for the ceremony, preceded the Commodore, bearing in an envelope of scarlet cloth the boxes which contained his credentials and the President's letter. These documents, of folio size, were beautifully written on vellum, and not folded, but bound in blue silk velvet. Each seal, attached by cords of interwoven gold and silk with pendant gold tassels, was encased in a circular box six inches in diameter and three in depth, wrought of pure gold. Each of the documents, together with its seal, was placed in a box of rosewood about a foot long, with lock, hinges, and mountings, all of gold. On either side of the Commodore marched a tall, well-formed negro, who, armed to the teeth, acted as his personal guard. These blacks, selected for the occasion, were two of the best-looking fellows of their color that the squadron could furnish. All this, of course, was but for effect.

The procession was obliged to make a somewhat circular movement to reach the entrance of the house of reception. This gave a good opportunity for the display of the escort. The building, which was but a short distance from the landing, was soon reached. In front of the entrance were two small brass cannon, which were old and apparently of European manufacture; on either side were grouped a rather straggling company of Japanese guards, whose costume was different from that of the other soldiers. Those on the right were dressed in tunics, gathered in at the waist with broad sashes, and in full trousers of a gray color, the capacious width of which was drawn in at the knees, while their heads were bound with a white cloth in the form of a turban. They were armed with muskets upon which bayonets and flint-locks were observed. The guards on the left were dressed in a rather dingy, brown-colored uniform turned up with yellow, and carried old-fashioned match-locks.

The Commodore, having been escorted to the door of the house of reception, entered with his suite. The building showed marks of hasty erection, and the timbers and boards of pine wood were numbered, as if they had been fashioned previously and brought to the spot all ready to be put together. The first portion of the

structure entered was a kind of tent, principally constructed of painted canvas, upon which in various places the imperial arms was painted. Its area enclosed a space of nearly forty feet square. Beyond this entrance hall was an inner apartment to which a carpeted path led. The floor of the outer room was generally covered with white cloth, but through its centre passed a slip of red-colored carpet, which showed the direction to the interior chamber. This latter was entirely carpeted with red cloth, and was the state apartment of the building where the reception was to take place. Its floor was somewhat raised, like a dais, above the general level, and was handsomely adorned for the occasion. Violet-colored hangings of silk and fine cotton, with the imperial coat-of-arms embroidered in white, hung from the walls which enclosed the inner room, on three sides, while the front was left open to the antechamber or outer room.

As the Commodore and his suite ascended to the reception room, the two dignitaries who were seated on the left arose and bowed, and the Commodore and suite were conducted to the arm-chairs which had been provided for them on the right. The interpreters announced the names and titles of the high Japanese functionaries as *Toda-Idzu-no-kami*, Toda, prince of Idzu, and *Ido-Iwami-no-kami*, Ido, prince of Iwami. They were both men of advanced years, the former apparently about fifty, and the latter some ten or fifteen years older. Prince Toda was the better-looking man of the two, and the intellectual expression of his large forehead and amiable look of his regular features contrasted very favorably with the more wrinkled and contracted and less intelligent face of his associate, the prince of Iwami. They were both very richly dressed, their garments being of heavy silk brocade interwoven with elaborately wrought figures in gold and silver.

From the beginning, the two princes had assumed an air of statuesque formality which they preserved during the whole interview, as they never spoke a word, and rose from their seats only at the entrance and exit of the Commodore, when they made a grave and formal bow. Yezaiman and his interpreters acted as masters of ceremony during the occasion. On entering, they took their positions at the upper end of the room, kneeling down beside a large lacquered box of scarlet color, supported by feet, gilt or of brass.

For some time after the Commodore and his suite had taken their seats there was a pause of some minutes, not a word being

uttered on either side. Tatznoske, the principal interpreter, was the first to break silence, which he did by asking Mr. Portman, the Dutch interpreter, whether the letters were ready for delivery, and stating that the prince Toda was prepared to receive them; and that the scarlet box at the upper end of the room was prepared as the receptacle for them. The Commodore, upon this being communicated to him, beckoned to the boys who stood in the lower hall to advance, when they immediately obeyed his summons and came forward, bearing the handsome boxes which contained the President's letter and other documents. The two stalwart negroes followed immediately in rear of the boys, and, marching up to the scarlet receptacle, received the boxes from the hands of the bearers, opened them, took out the letters, and, displaying the writing and seals, laid them upon the lid of the Japanese box—all in perfect silence. The President's letter, the Commodore's letter of credence, and two communications from the Commodore to the Emperor are here given. A third letter from him has already been presented on a previous page. All these, however, accompanied the letter from the President and were delivered at the same time with it.

MILLARD FILLMORE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the navy of the United States, and commander of the squadron now visiting your imperial majesty's dominions.

I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your imperial majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings toward your majesty's person and government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your imperial majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other.

The Constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquillity of your imperial majesty's dominions.

The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean, and our Territory of Oregon and State of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your imperial majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days.

Our great State of California produces about sixty millions of dollars in gold every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many

other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country, and produces many very valuable articles. Your imperial majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other, for the benefit both of Japan and the United States.

We know that the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government do not allow of foreign trade, except with the Chinese and the Dutch; but, as the state of the world changes and new governments are formed, it seems to be wise, from time to time, to make new laws. There was a time when the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government were first made.

About the same time America, which is sometimes called the New World, was first discovered and settled by the Europeans. For a long time there were but a few people, and they were poor. They have now become quite numerous; their commerce is very extensive; and they think that if your imperial majesty were so far to change the ancient laws as to allow a free trade between the two countries it would be extremely beneficial to both.

If your imperial majesty is not satisfied that it would be safe altogether to abrogate the ancient laws which forbid foreign trade, they might be suspended for five or ten years, so as to try the experiment. If it does not prove as beneficial as was hoped, the ancient laws can be restored. The United States often limit their treaties with foreign States to a few years, and then renew them or not, as they please.

I have directed Commodore Perry to mention another thing to your imperial majesty. Many of our ships pass every year from California to China; and great numbers of our people pursue the whale fishery near the shores of Japan. It sometimes happens, in stormy weather, that one of our ships is wrecked on your imperial majesty's shores. In all such cases we ask, and expect, that our unfortunate people should be treated with kindness, and that their property should be protected till we can send a vessel and bring them away. We are very much in earnest in this.

Commodore Perry is also directed by me to represent to your imperial majesty that we understand there is a great abundance of coal and provisions in the Empire of Japan. Our steamships, in crossing the great ocean, burn a great deal of coal, and it is not convenient to bring it all the way from America. We wish that our steamships and other vessels should be allowed to stop in Japan and supply themselves with coal, provisions, and water. They will pay for them in money, or anything else your imperial majesty's subjects may prefer; and we request your imperial majesty to appoint a convenient port, in the southern part of the Empire, where our vessels may stop for this purpose. We are very desirous of this.

These are the only objects for which I have sent Commodore Perry, with a powerful squadron, to pay a visit to your imperial majesty's

renowned city of Yedo: friendship, commerce, a supply of coal and provisions, and protection for our shipwrecked people.

We have directed Commodore Perry to beg your imperial majesty's acceptance of a few presents. They are of no great value in themselves; but some of them may serve as specimens of the articles manufactured in the United States, and they are intended as tokens of our sincere and respectful friendship.

May the Almighty have your imperial majesty in His great and holy keeping!

In witness whereof, I have caused the great seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and have subscribed the same with my name, at the city of Washington, in America, the seat of my government, on the thirteenth day of the month of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

[Seal attached.]

Your good friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

By the President:

EDWARD EVERETT,
Secretary of State.

Commodore Perry to the Emperor.

UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE SUSQUEHANNA,
Off the coast of Japan, July 7, 1853.

The undersigned, commander-in-chief of all the naval forces of the United States of America stationed in the East India, China, and Japan seas, has been sent by his government to this country, on a friendly mission, with ample powers to negotiate with the government of Japan touching certain matters which have been fully set forth in the letter of the President of the United States, copies of which, together with copies of the letter of credence of the undersigned, in the English, Dutch, and Chinese languages, are herewith transmitted.

The original of the President's letter, and of the letter of credence, prepared in a manner suited to the exalted station of your imperial majesty, will be presented by the undersigned in person, when it may please your majesty to appoint a day for his reception.

The undersigned has been commanded to state that the President entertains the most friendly feelings toward Japan, but has been surprised and grieved to learn that when any of the people of the United States go, of their own accord, or are thrown by the perils of the sea, within the dominions of your imperial majesty, they are treated as if they were your worst enemies.

The undersigned refers to the cases of the American ships Morrison, Lagoda, and Lawrence.

With the Americans, as indeed with all Christian people, it is con-

sidered a sacred duty to receive with kindness, and to succor and protect all, of whatever nation, who may be cast upon their shores, and such has been the course of the Americans with respect to all Japanese subjects who have fallen under their protection.

The government of the United States desires to obtain from that of Japan some positive assurance that persons who may hereafter be shipwrecked on the coast of Japan, or driven by stress of weather into her ports, shall be treated with humanity.

The undersigned is commanded to explain to the Japanese that the United States are connected with no government in Europe, and that their laws do not interfere with the religion of their own citizens, much less with that of other nations.

That they inhabit a great country which lies directly between Japan and Europe, and which was discovered by the nations of Europe about the same time that Japan herself was first visited by Europeans; that the portion of the American continent lying nearest to Europe was first settled by emigrants from that part of the world; that its population has rapidly spread through the country, until it has reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean; that we have now large cities, from which, with the aid of steam-vessels, we can reach Japan in eighteen or twenty days; that our commerce with all this region of the globe is rapidly increasing, and the Japan seas will soon be covered with our vessels.

Therefore, as the United States and Japan are becoming every day nearer and nearer to each other, the President desires to live in peace and friendship with your imperial majesty, but no friendship can long exist unless Japan ceases to act toward Americans as if they were her enemies.

However wise this policy may originally have been, it is unwise and impracticable now that the intercourse between the two countries is so much more easy and rapid than it formerly was.

The undersigned holds out all these arguments in the hope that the Japanese government will see the necessity of averting unfriendly collision between the two nations, by responding favorably to the propositions of amity, which are now made in all sincerity.

Many of the large ships-of-war destined to visit Japan have not yet arrived in these seas, though they are hourly expected; and the undersigned, as an evidence of his friendly intentions, has brought but four of the smaller ones, designing, should it become necessary, to return to Yedo in the ensuing spring with a much larger force.

But it is expected that the government of your imperial majesty will render such return unnecessary by acceding at once to the very reasonable and pacific overtures contained in the President's letter, and which will be further explained by the undersigned on the first fitting occasion.

With the most profound respect for your imperial majesty, and en-

tertaining a sincere hope that you may long live to enjoy health and happiness, the undersigned subscribes himself,

M. C. PERRY,
*Commander-in-chief of the United States Naval Forces
 in the East India, China, and Japan seas.**

TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY,
the Emperor of Japan.

Commodore Perry to the Emperor.

UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE SUSQUEHANNA,
Uraga, Yedo Bay, July 14, 1853.

It having been represented to the undersigned that the propositions submitted through him to the government of Japan are of so much importance, and involve so many momentous questions, that much time will be required to deliberate and decide upon their several bearings:

The undersigned, in consideration thereof, declares himself willing to await a reply to these propositions until his return to Yedo Bay in the ensuing spring, when he confidently hopes that all matters will be amicably arranged, and to the satisfaction of the two nations.

With profound respect,

M. C. PERRY,
*Commander-in-chief of the United States Naval Forces
 in the East India, China, and Japan seas.*

TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY,
the Emperor of Japan.

Letter of credence to Commodore Perry.

MILLARD FILLMORE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO
 HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

Reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, prudence, and ability of Matthew C. Perry, a captain in the navy of the United States, I have invested him with full power, for and in the name of the said United States, to meet and confer with any person or persons furnished with like powers on the part of your imperial majesty, and with him or them to negotiate, conclude, and sign a convention or conventions,

■ It should be remarked that the Commodore framed this letter on his letter of instructions from the authorities of the United States.

treaty or treaties, of and concerning the friendship, commerce, and navigation of the two countries; and all matters and subjects connected therewith which may be interesting to the two nations, submitting the same to the President of the United States for his final ratification, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, the thirteenth day of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, and of the independence of the United States of America the seventy-seventh.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

By the President:

EDWARD EVERETT,
Secretary of State.

[Seal attached.]

Accompanying the letters were translations of the same into the Chinese and Dutch languages. After the documents had been laid upon the lid of the imperial box, made as their receptacle, Mr. Portman, Dutch interpreter, by the Commodore's direction, indicated to Tatznoske, the Japanese interpreter, the characters of the various documents, upon which Tatznoske and Kayama Yezaiman, still kneeling, both bowed their heads. The latter, now rising, approached the prince of Iwami, and, prostrating himself on his knees before him, received from his hands a roll of papers, with which he crossed over to the Commodore, and, again falling upon his knees, delivered it to him. The Dutch interpreter now asked "what those papers were," to which it was answered, "They are the imperial receipt." The translation of it is as follows:—

[Translation of receipt given by the princes of Idzu and Iwami to Commodore Perry.]

The letter of the President of the United States of North America, and copy, are hereby received and delivered to the Emperor. Many times it has been communicated that business relating to foreign countries cannot be transacted here in Uraga, but in Nagasaki. Now it has been observed that the Admiral, in his quality of ambassador of the President, would be insulted by it; the justice of this has been acknowledged; consequently, the above-mentioned letter is hereby received, in opposition to the Japanese law.

Because the place is not designed to treat of anything from for-

eigners, so neither can conference nor entertainment take place. The letter being received, you will leave here.

[Here follow fac-similes of signatures in Japanese.]

THE NINTH OF THE SIXTH MONTH.

The above is a literal translation from the Dutch, in which language the conferences were held, and into which the receipt of the chief counsellors, the princes of Idzu and Iwami, was, doubtless, badly translated from the Japanese by their interpreter.

The following would probably be the correct translation:—

“The letter of the President of the United States of North America, and copy, are hereby received, and will be delivered to the Emperor.

“It has been many times intimated that business relating to foreign countries cannot be transacted here in Uruga, but at Nagasaki; nevertheless, as it has been observed that the Admiral, in his quality of ambassador of the President, would feel himself insulted by a refusal to receive the letter at this place, the justice of which has been acknowledged, the above-mentioned letter is hereby received, in opposition to the Japanese law.

“As this is not a place wherein to negotiate with foreigners, so neither can conferences nor entertainment be held. Therefore, as the letter has been received, you can depart.”

After a silence of some few minutes the Commodore directed his interpreters to inform the Japanese that he would leave, with the squadron, for Lew Chew and Canton in two or three days, and to offer to the government his services, if it wished to send any despatches or messages to those places. The Commodore also stated that it was his intention to return to Japan in the approaching spring, perhaps in April or May. Tatznoske then asked the Dutch interpreter to repeat what he had said about the Commodore's leaving and returning, which he did, using the same words as before. Then the question was asked “whether the Commodore would return with all four vessels.” “All of them,” answered the Commodore, “and probably more, as these are only a portion of the squadron.” Allusion had been made to the revolution in China, and the interpreter asked its cause, without, however, translating to the Japanese princes, to which the Commodore dictated the reply that “it was on account of the government.”

Yezaiman and Tatznoske now bowed, and, rising from their

knees, drew the fastenings around the scarlet box, and, informing the Commodore's interpreter that there was nothing more to be done, passed out of the apartment, bowing to those on either side as they went. The Commodore now rose to take leave, and, as he departed, the two princes, still preserving absolute silence, also arose and stood until the strangers had passed from their presence.

The Commodore and his suite were detained a short time at the entrance of the building waiting for their barge, whereupon Yezaiman and his interpreter returned, and asked some of the party what they were waiting for, to which they received the reply, "For the Commodore's boat." Nothing further was said. The whole interview had not occupied more than from twenty to thirty minutes, and had been conducted with the greatest formality, though with the most perfect courtesy in every respect.

The procession re-formed as before, and the Commodore was escorted to his barge, and, embarking, was rowed off toward his ship, followed by the other American and the two Japanese boats which contained the governor of Uraga and his attendants, the bands meanwhile playing our national airs with great spirit as the boats pulled off to the ships. While there was some little delay in embarking all the party, in consequence of the smallness of the landing place, which was now flanked by some sixty or seventy Japanese government boats, the soldiers took occasion to crowd in from various parts of the shore, either to satisfy their curiosity or to show a more formidable front; and it must be confessed that, had such been the disposition of the Japanese, there would have been no difficulty, with their large force, in completely hemming in the Americans.

The opening of Japan to commercial relations with the world was effected by the United States; and the agent of our government in this epoch-making work was Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, a chapter of whose official report constitutes the present leaflet.

Matthew Calbraith Perry was a younger brother of Oliver Hazard Perry, the hero of the battle of Lake Erie. He was born in Newport, R.I. (where a statue of him stands in Touro Park, close to the Old Mill), April 10, 1794. He entered the navy as a midshipman in 1809, serving under his brother and then under Commodore John Rodgers, and taking part in various naval engagements during the War of 1812, being made a lieutenant in 1813. In 1819 he conveyed the first colony of negroes from this country to Africa; and he selected the site of the future Monrovia. Throughout his life he was a diligent student of sanitation, and influential in important reforms. For several years he was engaged in protecting American commerce from pirates in the West Indies and the Mediterranean. In 1829 he took John Randolph as envoy to the czar in the first American man-of-war to enter Russian waters; and he was offered high rank in the Russian navy by Nicholas, but declined. After farther naval exploits, he began in 1833 ten years of shore duty as master commandant at the Brooklyn navy yard; and the important results of his studies in naval science earned for him the

title of "a chief educator of the United States navy." He organized the Brooklyn Naval Lyceum, helped found the Naval Magazine, tabulated the action of the tides, organized the first steam service, and commanded the first steam war-vessel of our navy. He studied the problems of ordnance and armor with most important results, introducing constructive changes of great moment in our navy. He did much to reform the light-house service. He commanded the squadron sent to Africa in 1843 to enforce the Webster-Ashburton treaty; and in the Mexican War he had command of the fleet which co-operated with General Scott, successfully bombarding Vera Cruz. But his chief title to fame lies in his remarkably wise and efficient organization and command of the expedition to Japan, after many vain attempts by our own people and European governments to establish trade and general relations with that hermit nation. He succeeded in delivering the President's letter on July 14, 1853, and in signing a treaty on March 31, 1854; and this brilliant achievement marked the beginning of the wonderful new life of Japan. On his return he wrote the report of the expedition, accompanied by many scientific papers by other writers, with a preface and notes by Francis L. Hawks; and this monumental work in three great volumes, with many illustrations, was published by the government. Commodore Perry died in New York, March 4, 1858. In 1903, the fiftieth anniversary of Perry's landing in Japan, a monument in honor of him and of the event was erected and dedicated at the place of the landing by the Japanese government and people. There is an admirable popular biography of Perry by Rev. William Elliot Griffis; and this reviews in one of its early chapters the various early efforts of Europeans to secure foothold in Japan and the particular conditions at the time of Commodore Perry's historic enterprise which resulted in a success so brilliant and so fruitful in results to Japan, to the United States, and to the world.

The passage given in the present leaflet is chapter xiii. of the official report of Perry's expedition. The valuable introduction to the report contains various thorough studies of the history, character, and conditions of the Japanese people, and especially of the past relations of the empire with the western civilized nations. The chapters which follow record the proposal of the mission to Japan to the United States government by Commodore Perry, the careful preparations, the departure from Norfolk, the incidents of the voyage, the delay in Chinese waters, the arrival on the Japanese coast, the surprise of the people, and the delicate and intricate negotiations with the local governor, leading to the taking of Commodore Perry's message to Yedo and arrangements for his reception on shore by high officials representing the Emperor. Of that reception the chapter here printed is the record. Commodore Perry immediately after it returned with his squadron to Chinese waters, where he remained until the next February (1854), when, returning to Japan, he was cordially received, made an exhibition to the Japanese of the telegraph and railroad, of agricultural implements and other instruments of western progress, which were greatly admired, and succeeded in making the desired treaty, which was soon followed by similar treaties between Japan and other nations. The text of the treaty, with Commodore Perry's own comments upon its character and significance, is given in chapter xx. of the report. His final words are:—

"Japan has been opened to the nations of the west, and it is not to be believed that, having once effected an entrance, the enlightened powers that have made treaties with her will *go backward*, and by any indiscretion lose what, after so many unavailing efforts for centuries, has at last been happily attained. It belongs to these nations to show Japan that her interests will be promoted by communication with them; and as prejudice gradually vanishes, we may hope to see the future negotiation of commercial treaties more and more liberal, for the benefit not of ourselves only, but of all the maritime powers of Europe, for the advancement of Japan, and for the upward progress of our common humanity. It would be a reproach to Christendom now to force Japan to relapse into her cheerless and unprogressive state of unnatural isolation. She is the youngest sister in the circle of commercial nations: let those who are older kindly take her by the hand, and aid her tottering steps until she has reached a vigor that will enable her to walk firmly in her own strength."

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Battle between the "Bon Homme Richard" and the "Serapis."

COMMODORE JONES'S REPORT TO CONGRESS THROUGH
DR. FRANKLIN.

ON BOARD THE SHIP SERAPIS, AT ANCHOR WITHOUT }
THE TEXEL, IN HOLLAND, OCTOBER 3d, 1779. }

His Excellency BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Honored and Dear Sir,—When I had the honor of writing to you on the 11th of August, previous to my departure from the Road of Groaix, I had before me the most flattering prospect of rendering essential service to the common cause of France and America. I had a full confidence in the voluntary inclination and ability of every captain under my command to assist and support me in my duty with cheerful emulation; and I was persuaded that every one of them would pursue glory in preference to interest.

Whether I was or was not deceived will best appear by a relation of circumstances.

The little squadron under my orders, consisting of the Bon homme Richard of 40 guns, the Alliance of 36 guns, the Pallas of 32 guns, the Cerf of 18 guns, and the Vengeance of 12 guns, joined by two privateers, the Monsieur and the Granville, sailed from the Road of Groaix at daybreak on the 14th of August. The same day we spoke with a large convoy bound from the southward to Brest.

On the 18th we retook a large ship belonging to Holland, laden chiefly with brandy and wine that had been destined from Barcelona for Dunkirk, and taken eight days before by an English privateer. The captain of the Monsieur, however, took out of this prize such articles as he pleased in the night, and the next

day, being astern of the squadron and to windward, he actually wrote orders *in his proper name*, and sent away the prize under one of his own officers. This, however, I superseded by sending her for L'Orient under my orders, in the character of commander-in-chief. The evening of the day following the Monsieur separated from the squadron.

On the 20th we saw and chased a large ship, but could not overtake her, she being to windward.

On the 21st we saw and chased another ship that was also to windward, and thereby eluded our pursuit. The same afternoon we took a brigantine called the Mayflower, laden with butter and salt provisions, bound from Limerick in Ireland for London. This vessel I immediately expedited for L'Orient.

On the 23d we saw Cape Clear and the S.W. part of Ireland. That afternoon, it being calm, I sent some armed boats to take a brigantine that appeared in the N.W. quarter. Soon after in the evening it became necessary to have a boat ahead of the ship to tow, as the helm could not prevent her from laying across the tide of flood, which would have driven us into a deep and dangerous bay, situated between the rocks on the south called the Skallocks and on the north called the Blaskets. The ship's boats being absent, I sent my own barge ahead to tow the ship. The boats took the brigantine. She was called the Fortuned, and bound with a cargo of oil, blubber, and staves from Newfoundland for Bristol. This vessel I ordered to proceed immediately for Nantes or St. Malo. Soon after sunset the villains who towed the ship cut the tow rope, and decamped with my barge. Sundry shots were fired to bring them to without effect. In the mean time the master of the Bon homme Richard, without orders, manned one of the ship's boats, and with four soldiers pursued the barge in order to stop the deserters. The evening was clear and serene, but the zeal of that officer, Mr. Cutting Lunt, induced him to pursue too far; and a fog, which came on soon afterward, prevented the boats from rejoining the ship, although I caused signal guns to be frequently fired. The fog and calm continued the next day till towards evening. In the afternoon Captain Landais came on board the Bon homme Richard, and behaved towards me with great disrespect, affirming in the most indelicate manner and language that I had lost my boats and people through my imprudence in sending boats to take a prize! He persisted in his reproaches, though he was assured by Messrs. de Weibert and de Chamillard that the barge was towing the ship at the

time of elopement, and that she had not been sent in pursuit of the prize. He was affronted because I would not the day before suffer him to chase without my orders and to approach the dangerous shore I have already mentioned, where he was an entire stranger and when there was not sufficient wind to govern a ship. He told me he was the only American in the squadron, and was determined to follow his own opinion in chasing when and where he thought proper, and in every other matter that concerned the service, and that, if I continued in that situation three days longer, the squadron would be taken, &c. By the advice of Captain de Cottineau, and with the free consent and approbation of M. de Verage, I sent the *Cerf* in to reconnoitre the coast, and endeavor to take the boats and people the next day, while the squadron stood off and on in the S.W. quarter, in the best possible situation to intercept the enemy's merchant ships, whether outward or homeward bound. The *Cerf* had on board a pilot well acquainted with the coast, and was ordered to join me again before night. I approached the shore in the afternoon, but the *Cerf* did not appear. This induced me to stand off again in the night in order to return and be rejoined by the *Cerf* the next day; but, to my great concern and disappointment, though I ranged the coast along and hoisted our private signals, neither the boats nor the *Cerf* joined me. The evening of that day, the 26th, brought with it stormy weather, with an appearance of a severe gale from the S.W., yet I must declare I did not follow my own judgment, but was led by the assertion which had fallen from Captain Landais, when I in the evening made a signal to steer to the northward and leave that station, which I wished to have occupied at least a week longer. The gale increased in the night with thick weather. To prevent separation, I carried a top light, and fired a gun every quarter of an hour. I carried, also, a very moderate sail, and the course had been clearly pointed out by a signal before night; yet, with all this precaution, I found myself accompanied only by the brigantine *Vengeance* in the morning, the *Granville* having remained astern with a prize. As I have since understood, the tiller of the *Pallas* broke after midnight, which disabled her from keeping up, but no apology has yet been made in behalf of the Alliance.

On the 31st we saw the *Flamie* Islands situated near the Lewis, on the N.W. coast of Scotland; and the next morning, off Cape Wrath, we gave chase to a ship to windward, at the same time two ships appearing in the N.W. quarter, which proved to be

the Alliance and a prize ship which she had taken, bound, as I understood, from Liverpool to Jamaica. The ship which I chased brought to at noon. She proved to be the Union letter of marque, bound from London for Quebec, with a cargo of naval stores on account of government, adapted for the service of the British armed vessels on the lakes. The public despatches were lost, as the Alliance very imprudently hoisted American colors, though English colors were then flying on board the Bon homme Richard. Captain Landais sent a small boat to ask whether I would man the ship or he should, as in the latter case he would suffer no boat nor person from the Bon homme Richard to go near the prize. Ridiculous as this appeared to me, I yielded to it for the sake of peace, and received the prisoners on board the Bon homme Richard, while the prize was manned from the Alliance. In the afternoon another sail appeared, and I immediately made the signal for the Alliance to chase; but, instead of obeying, he wore and laid the ship's head the other way. The next morning I made a signal to speak with the Alliance, to which no attention was shown. I then made sail with the ships in company for the second rendezvous, which was not far distant, and where I fully expected to be joined by the Pallas and the Cerf.

The second of September we saw a sail at daybreak, and gave chase. That ship proved to be the Pallas, and had met with no success while separated from the Bon homme Richard.

On the 3d the Vengeance brought to a small Irish brigantine, bound homeward from Norway. The same evening I sent the Vengeance in the N.E. quarter to bring up the two prize ships that appeared to me to be too near the islands of Shetland. While with the Alliance and Pallas, I endeavored to weather Fair Isle, and to get into my second rendezvous, where I directed the Vengeance to join me with the three prizes. The next morning, having weathered Fair Isle, and not seeing the Vengeance nor the prizes, I spoke the Alliance, and ordered her to steer to the northward, and bring them up to the rendezvous.

On the morning of the 4th the Alliance appeared again, and had brought to two very small coasting sloops in ballast, but without having attended properly to my orders of yesterday. The Vengeance joined me soon after, and informed me that in consequence of Captain Landais' orders to the commanders of the two prize ships they had refused to follow him to the rendezvous. I am to this moment ignorant of what orders these men received from Captain Landais, nor know I by virtue of what

authority he ventured to give his orders to prizes in my presence and without either my knowledge or approbation. Captain Ricot further informed me that he had burnt the prize brigantine because that vessel proved leaky; and I was sorry to understand afterward that, though the vessel was Irish property, the cargo was property of the subjects of Norway.

In the evening I sent for all the captains to come on board the *Bon homme Richard* to consult on future plans of operation. Captains Cottineau and Ricot obeyed me, but Captain Landais obstinately refused, and, after sending me various uncivil messages, wrote me a very extraordinary letter in answer to a written order which I had sent him on finding that he had trifled with my verbal orders. The next day a pilot boat came on board from Shetland, by which means I received such advices as induced me to change a plan which I otherwise meant to have pursued; and, as the *Cerf* did not appear at my second rendezvous, I determined to steer towards the third in hopes of meeting her there.

In the afternoon a gale of wind came on, which continued four days without intermission. In the second night of that gale the *Alliance*, with her two little prizes, again separated from the *Bon homme Richard*. I had now with me only the *Pallas* and the *Vengeance*, yet I did not abandon the hopes of performing some essential service. The winds continued contrary, so that we did not see the land till the evening of the 13th, when the hills of the Cheviot in the S.E. of Scotland appeared. The next day we chased sundry vessels, and took a ship and a brigantine, both from the Firth of Edinburgh, laden with coal. Knowing that there lay at anchor in Leith road an armed ship of 20 guns, with two or three fine cutters, I formed an expedition against Leith, which I purposed to lay under a large contribution, or otherwise to reduce it to ashes. Had I been alone, the wind being favorable, I would have proceeded directly up the Firth, and must have succeeded, as they lay there in a state of perfect indolence and security, which would have proved their ruin. Unfortunately for me, the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* were both at a considerable distance in the offing, they having chased to the southward. This obliged us to steer out of the Firth again to meet them. The captains of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* being come on board the *Bon homme Richard*, I communicated to them my project, to which many difficulties and objections were made by them. At last, however, they appeared to think better of the design after I had assured them that I hoped to raise a contribution

of 200,000 pounds sterling on Leith, and that there was no battery of cannon there to oppose our landing. So much time, however, was unavoidably spent in pointed remarks and sage deliberation that night that the wind became contrary in the morning.

We continued working to windward up the Firth without being able to reach the road of Leith, till on the morning of the 17th, when being almost within cannon-shot of the town, having everything in readiness for a descent, a very severe gale of wind came on, and, being directly contrary, obliged us to bear away, after having in vain endeavored for some time to withstand its violence. The gale was so severe that one of the prizes that had been taken on the 14th sunk to the bottom, the crew being with difficulty saved. As the alarm by this time had reached Leith by means of a cutter that had watched our motions that morning, and as the wind continued contrary (though more moderate in the evening), I thought it impossible to pursue the enterprise with a good prospect of success, especially as Edinburgh, where there is always a number of troops, is only a mile distant from Leith, therefore I gave up the project.

On the 19th, having taken a sloop and a brigantine in ballast, with a sloop laden with building timber, I proposed another project to Mr. Cottineau, which would have been highly honorable, though not profitable. Many difficulties were made, and our situation was represented as being the most perilous. The enemy, he said, would send against us a superior force, and that, if I obstinately continued on the coast of England two days longer, we should all be taken. The Vengeance having chased along shore to the southward, Captain Cottineau said he would follow her with the prizes, as I was unable to make much sail, having that day been obliged to strike the main-top-mast to repair damages; and, as I afterwards understood, he told M. de Chamillard that, unless I joined them the next day, both the Pallas and the Vengeance would leave that coast. I had thoughts of attempting the enterprise alone after the Pallas had made sail to join the Vengeance. I am persuaded even now that I would have succeeded; and, to the honor of my young officers, I found them as ardently disposed to the business as I could desire. Nothing prevented me from pursuing my design but the reproach that would have been cast upon my character as a man of prudence, had the enterprise miscarried. It would have been said, Was he not forewarned by Captain Cottineau and others?

I made sail along shore to the southward, and next morning took

a coasting sloop in ballast, which, with another that I had taken the night before, I ordered to be sunk. In the evening I again met with the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* off Whitby. Captain Cottineau told me he had sunk the brigantine, and ransomed the sloop, laden with building timber, that had been taken the day before. I had told Captain Cottineau the day before that I had no authority to ransom prizes.

On the 21st we saw and chased two sail off Flamborough Head, the *Pallas* in the N.E. quarter, while the *Bon homme Richard* followed by the *Vengeance* in the S.W. the one I chased. A brigantine collier in ballast belonging to Scarborough was soon taken, and sunk immediately afterward, as a fleet then appeared to the southward. It was so late in the day that I could not come up with the fleet before night. At length, however, I got so near one of them as to force her to run ashore between Flamborough Head and the Spurn. Soon after I took another, a brigantine from Holland, belonging to Sunderland; and at daylight the next morning, seeing a fleet steering towards me from the Spurn, I imagined them to be a convoy, bound from London for Leith, which had been for some time expected. One of them had a pendant hoisted, and appeared to be a ship of force. They had not, however, courage to come on, but kept back, all except the one which seemed to be armed, and that one also kept to windward very near the land and on the edge of dangerous shoals, where I could not with safety approach. This induced me to make a signal for a pilot, and soon afterward two pilot boats came off. They informed me that the ship that wore a pendant was an armed merchant ship, and that a king's frigate lay there in sight at anchor within the Humber, waiting to take under convoy a number of merchant ships bound to the northward. The pilots imagined the *Bon homme Richard* to be an English ship of war, and consequently communicated to me the private signal which they had been required to make. I endeavored by this means to decoy the ships out of the port, but the wind then changing, and with the tide becoming unfavorable for them, the deception had not the desired effect, and they wisely put back. The entrance of the Humber is exceedingly difficult and dangerous; and, as the *Pallas* was not in sight, I thought it not prudent to remain off the entrance. I therefore steered out again to join the *Pallas* off Flamborough Head. In the night we saw and chased two ships until 3 o'clock in the morning, when, being at a very small distance from them, I made the private signal of recognizance which I had given

to each captain before I sailed from Groaix; one-half of the answer only was returned. In this position both sides lay to till daylight, when the ships proved to be the Alliance and the Pallas.

On the morning of that day, the 23d, the brig from Holland not being in sight, we chased a brigantine that appeared laying to to windward. About noon we saw and chased a large ship that appeared coming round Flamborough Head from the northward, and at the same time I manned and armed one of the pilot boats to sail in pursuit of the brigantine, which now appeared to be the vessel that I had forced ashore. Soon after this a fleet of 41 sail appeared off Flamborough Head, bearing N.N.E. This induced me to abandon the single ship which had then anchored in Burlington Bay. I also called back the pilot boat, and hoisted a signal for a general chase. When the fleet discovered us bearing down, all the merchant ships crowded sail towards the shore. The two ships of war that protected the fleet at the same time steered from the land, and made the disposition for the battle. In approaching the enemy, I crowded every possible sail, and made the signal for the line of battle, to which the Alliance showed no attention. Earnest as I was for the action, I could not reach the commodore's ship until seven in the evening. Being then within pistol shot, when he hailed the Bon homme Richard, we answered him by firing a whole broadside.

The battle, being thus begun, was continued with unremitting fury. Every method was practised on both sides to gain an advantage, and rake each other; and I must confess that the enemy's ship, being much more manageable than the Bon homme Richard, gained thereby several times an advantageous situation, in spite of my best endeavors to prevent it. As I had to deal with an enemy of *greatly superior force*, I was under the necessity of closing with him, to prevent the advantage which he had over me in point of manœuvre. It was my intention to lay the Bon homme Richard athwart the enemy's bow, but, as that operation required great dexterity in the management of both sails and helm, and some of our braces being shot away, it did not exactly succeed to my wishes. The enemy's bowsprit, however, came over the Bon homme Richard's poop by the mizzen mast, and I made both ships fast together in that situation, which by the action of the wind on the enemy's sails forced her stern close to the Bon homme Richard's bow, so that the ships lay square alongside of each other, the yards being all entangled, and the cannon of each ship touching the opponent's side. When this

position took place, it was 8 o'clock, previous to which the Bonhomme Richard had received sundry eighteen-pounds shot below the water, and leaked very much. My battery of 12-pounders, on which I had placed my chief dependence, being commanded by Lieut. Dale and Col. Weibert, and manned principally with American seamen and French volunteers, were entirely silenced and abandoned. As to the six old eighteen-pounders that formed the battery of the lower gun-deck, they did no service whatever. Two out of three of them burst at the first fire, and killed almost all the men who were stationed to manage them. Before this time, too, Col. de Chamillard, who commanded a party of 20 soldiers on the poop, had abandoned that station after having lost some of his men. These men deserted their quarters. I had now only two pieces of cannon, nine-pounders, on the quarter deck, that were not silenced; and not one of the heavier cannon was fired during the rest of the action. The purser, Mr. Mease, who commanded the guns on the quarter deck, being dangerously wounded in the head, I was obliged to fill his place, and with great difficulty rallied a few men, and shifted over one of the lee quarter-deck guns, so that we afterward played three pieces of 9-pounders upon the enemy. The tops alone seconded the fire of this little battery, and held out bravely during the whole of the action, especially the main top, where Lieut. Stack commanded. I directed the fire of one of the three cannon against the main-mast, with double-headed shot, while the other two were exceedingly well served with grape and canister shot to silence the enemy's musketry, and clear her decks, which was at last effected. The enemy were, as I have since understood, on the instant of calling for quarters when the cowardice or treachery of three of my under officers induced them to call to the enemy. The English commodore asked me if I demanded quarters; and, I having answered him in the most determined negative, they renewed the battle with double fury. They were unable to stand the deck; but the fire of their cannon, especially the lower battery, which was entirely formed of 18-pounders, was incessant. Both ships were set on fire in various places, and the scene was dreadful beyond the reach of language. To account for the timidity of my three under officers,—I mean the gunner, the carpenter, and the master-at-arms,—I must observe that the two first were slightly wounded; and, as the ship had received various shots under water, and one of the pumps being shot away, the carpenter expressed his fear that she would sink, and the other

two concluded that she was sinking, which occasioned the gunner to run aft on the poop without my knowledge to strike the colors. Fortunately for me, a cannon ball had done that before by carrying away the ensign staff. He was therefore reduced to the necessity of sinking, as he supposed, or of calling for quarter; and he preferred the latter.

All this time the *Bon homme Richard* had sustained the action alone, and the enemy, though much superior in force, would have been very glad to have got clear, as appears by their own acknowledgments, and by their having let go an anchor the instant that I laid them on board, by which means they would have escaped, had I not made them well fast to the *Bon homme Richard*.

At last, at half-past 9 o'clock, the *Alliance* appeared, and I now thought the battle at an end; but, to my utter astonishment, he discharged a broadside full into the stern of the *Bon homme Richard*. We called to him for God's sake to forbear firing into the *Bon homme Richard*; yet he passed along the off side of the ship, and continued firing. There was no possibility of his mistaking the enemy's ship for the *Bon homme Richard*, there being the most essential difference in their appearance and construction; besides, it was then full moonlight, and the sides of the *Bon homme Richard* were all black, while the sides of the prizes were yellow; yet, for the greater security, I shewed the signal of our reconnoissance by putting out three lanthorns, one at the head (bow), another at the stern, (quarter), and the third in the middle in a horizontal line. Every tongue cried that he was firing into the wrong ship, but nothing availed. He passed round, firing into the *Bon homme Richard*'s head, stern, and broadside; and by one of his volleys killed several of my best men, and mortally wounded a good officer on the forecastle. My situation was really deplorable. The *Bon homme Richard* received various shot under water from the *Alliance*, the leak gained on the pumps, and the fire increased much on board both ships. Some officers persuaded me to strike, of whose courage and good sense I entertain a high opinion. My treacherous master-at-arms let loose all my prisoners without my knowledge, and my prospect became gloomy indeed. I would not, however, give up the point. The enemy's main-mast began to shake, their firing decreased, ours rather increased, and the British colors were struck at half an hour past 10 o'clock.

This prize proved to be the British ship of war the *Serapis*, a new ship of 44 guns, built on their most approved construction,

with two complete batteries, one of them of 18-pounders, and commanded by the brave Commodore Richard Pearson. I had yet two enemies to encounter far more formidable than the Britons,—I mean fire and water. The *Serapis* was attacked only by the first, but the *Bon homme Richard* was assailed by both. There were five feet water in the hold, and, though it was moderate from the explosion of so much gunpowder, yet the three pumps that remained could with difficulty only keep the water from gaining. The fire broke out in various parts of the ship, in spite of all the water that could be thrown to quench it, and at length broke out as low as the powder magazine, and within a few inches of the powder. In that dilemma I took out the powder upon deck, ready to be thrown overboard at the last extremity; and it was ten o'clock the next day, the 24th, before the fire was entirely extinguished. With respect to the situation of the *Bon homme Richard*, the rudder was cut entirely off the stern frame, and the transoms were almost entirely cut away; the timbers, by the lower deck especially, from the main-mast to the stern, being greatly decayed with age, were mangled beyond my power of description; and a person must have been an eye-witness to form a just idea of the tremendous scene of carnage, wreck, and ruin that everywhere appeared. Humanity cannot but recoil from the prospect of such finished horror, and lament that war should produce such fatal consequences.

After the carpenters, as well as Capt. de Cottineau, and other men of sense, had well examined and surveyed the ship (which was not finished before five in the evening), I found every person to be convinced that it was impossible to keep the *Bon homme Richard* afloat so as to reach a port if the wind should increase, it being then only a very moderate breeze. I had but little time to remove my wounded, which now became unavoidable, and which was effected in the course of the night and next morning. I was determined to keep the *Bon homme Richard* afloat, and, if possible, to bring her into port. For that purpose the first lieutenant of the *Pallas* continued on board with a party of men to attend the pumps, with boats in waiting ready to take them on board in case the water should gain on them too fast. The wind augmented in the night and the next day, on the 25th, so that it was impossible to prevent the good old ship from sinking. They did not abandon her till after 9 o'clock. The water was then up to the lower deck, and a little after ten I saw with inexpressible grief the last glimpse of the *Bon homme Richard*. No lives were

lost with the ship, but it was impossible to save the stores of any sort whatever. I lost even the best part of my clothes, books, and papers; and several of my officers lost all their clothes and effects.

Having thus endeavored to give a clear and simple relation of the circumstances and events that have attended the little armament under my command, I shall freely submit my conduct therein to the censure of my superiors and the impartial public. I beg leave, however, to observe that the force that was put under my command was far from being well composed; and, as the great majority of the actors in it have appeared bent on the pursuit of interest only, I am exceedingly sorry that they and I have been at all concerned. I am in the highest degree sensible of the singular attentions which I have experienced from the Court of France, which I shall remember with perfect gratitude until the end of my life, and will always endeavor to merit while I can, consistent with my honor, continue in the public service. I must speak plainly. As I have been always honored with the full confidence of Congress, and as I also flattered myself with enjoying in some measure the confidence of the Court of France, I could not but be astonished at the conduct of M. de Chaumont, when, in the moment of my departure from Grcaix, he produced a paper, a concordat, for me to sign in common with the officers whom I had commissioned but a few days before. Had that paper, or even a less dishonorable one, been proposed to me at the beginning, I would have rejected it with just contempt, and the word *deplacement* among others should have been necessary. I cannot, however, even now suppose that he was authorized by the Court to make such a bargain with me, nor can I suppose that the minister of the marine meant that M. de Chaumont should consider me merely as a colleague with the commanders of the other ships, and communicate to them not only all he knew, but all he thought, respecting our destination and operations. M. de Chaumont has made me various reproaches on account of the expense of the *Bon homme Richard*, wherewith I cannot think I have been justly chargeable. M. de Chamillard can attest that the *Bon homme Richard* was at last far from being well fitted or armed for war. If any person or persons who have been charged with the expense of that armament have acted wrong, the fault must not be laid to my charge. I had no authority to superintend that armament, and the persons who had authority were so far from giving me what I thought necessary that M. de

Chaumont even refused, among other things, to allow me irons for securing the prisoners of war.

In short, while my life remains, if I have any capacity to render good and acceptable services to the common cause, no man will step forth with greater cheerfulness and alacrity than myself; but I am not made to be dishonored, nor can I accept of the *half confidence* of any man living. Of course, I cannot, consistent with my honor and a prospect of success, undertake future expeditions, unless when the object and destination is communicated to me alone, and to no other person in the marine line. In cases where troops are embarked, a like confidence is due alone to their commander-in-chief. On no other condition will I ever undertake the chief command of a private expedition; and, when I do not command in chief, I have no desire to be in the secret.

Captain Cottineau engaged the Countess of Scarborough, and took her after an hour's action, while the Bon homme Richard engaged the Serapis. The Countess of Scarborough is an armed ship of 20 six-pounders, and was commanded by a king's officer. In the action the Countess of Scarborough and the Serapis were at a considerable distance asunder; and the Alliance, as I am informed, fired into the Pallas, and killed some men. If it should be asked why the convoy was suffered to escape, I must answer that I was myself in no condition to pursue, and that none of the rest showed any inclination, not even Mr. Ricot, who had held off at a distance to windward during the whole action, and withheld by force the pilot boat with my lieutenant and 15 men.* The Alliance, too, was in a state to pursue the fleet, not having had a single man wounded or a single shot fired at her from the Serapis, and only three that did execution from the Countess of Scarborough, at such a distance that one stuck in the side, and the other two just touched and then dropped into the water. The Alliance killed one man only on board the Serapis. As Captain de Cottineau charged himself with manning and securing the prisoners of the Countess of Scarborough, I think the escape of the Baltic fleet cannot so well be charged to his account.

I should have mentioned that the main-mast and mizzen-top-mast of the Serapis fell overboard soon after the captain had come on board the Bon homme Richard.

* This is founded on a report that has proved to be false; for it now appears that Captain Ricot expressly ordered the pilot boat to board the Bon homme Richard, which order was disobeyed.

Upon the whole, the captain of the Alliance has behaved so very ill in every respect that I must complain loudly of his conduct. He pretends that he is authorized to act independent of my command. I have been taught the contrary; but, supposing it to be so, his conduct has been base and unpardonable. M. de Chamillard will explain the particulars. Either Captain Landais or myself is highly criminal, and one or the other must be punished. I forbear to take any steps with him until I have the advice and approbation of your excellency. I have been advised by all the officers of the squadron to put M. Landais under arrest; but, as I have postponed it so long, I will bear with him a little longer until the return of my express.

We this day anchored here, having since the action been tossed to and fro by contrary winds. I wished to have gained the Road of Dunkirk on account of our prisoners, but was overruled by the majority of *my colleagues*. I shall hasten up to Amsterdam; and there, if I meet with no orders for my government, I will take the advice of the French ambassador. It is my present intention to have the Countess of Scarborough ready to transport the prisoners from hence to Dunkirk, unless it should be found more expedient to deliver them to the English ambassador, taking his obligation to send to Dunkirk, &c., immediately an equal number of American prisoners. I am under strong apprehensions that our object here will fail, and that through the imprudence of M. de Chaumont, who has communicated everything he knew or thought on the matter to persons who cannot help talking of it at a full table. This is the way he keeps state secrets, though he never mentioned the affair to me.

I am ever, &c.,

JOHN P. JONES.

JOHN PAUL JONES'S ADVICE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF AN AMERICAN NAVY, PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS, AND EMBODIED IN TWO LETTERS ADDRESSED TO JOSEPH HEWES, OF THE COMMITTEE, SEPTEMBER 14 AND OCTOBER 3, 1775. THE IMPORTANT PARTS OF BOTH LETTERS ARE GIVEN, THE FIRST RELATING TO THE CHARACTER AND QUALIFICATIONS OF NAVAL OFFICERS, THE SECOND TO THE SUBJECT OF SHIPS AND THEIR ARMAMENTS.

I.

As this is to be the foundation—or I may say the first keel-timber—of a new navy, which all patriots must hope shall become among the foremost in the world, it should be well begun in the selection of the first list of officers. You will pardon me, I know, if I say that I have enjoyed much opportunity during my sea-life to observe the duties and responsibilities that are put upon naval officers.

It is by no means enough that an officer of the navy should be a capable mariner. He must be that, of course, but also a great deal more. He should be as well a gentleman of liberal education, refined manners, punctilious courtesy, and the nicest sense of personal honor.

He should not only be able to express himself clearly and with force in his own language both with tongue and pen, but he should also be versed in French and Spanish,—for an American officer particularly the former,—for our relations with France must necessarily soon become exceedingly close in view of the mutual hostility of the two countries toward Great Britain.

The naval officer should be familiar with the principles of international law and the general practice of admiralty jurisprudence, because such knowledge may often, when cruising at a distance from home, be necessary to protect his flag from insult or his crew from imposition or injury in foreign ports.

He should also be conversant with the usages of diplomacy, and capable of maintaining, if called upon, a dignified and judicious diplomatic correspondence, because it often happens that sudden emergencies in foreign waters make him the diplomatic as well as the military representative of his country, and in such cases he may have to act without opportunity of consulting his civic or ministerial superiors at home, and such action may easily involve the portentous issue of peace or war between great powers. These are general qualifications, and the nearer the officer approaches the full possession of them the more likely he will be to serve his country well and win fame and honors for himself.

Coming now to view the naval officer aboard ship and in relation to those under his command, he should be the soul of tact, patience, jus-

tice, firmness, and charity. No meritorious act of a subordinate should escape his attention or be left to pass without its reward, if even the reward be only one word of approval. Conversely, he should not be blind to a single fault in any subordinate, though at the same time he should be quick and unfailing to distinguish error from malice, thoughtlessness from incompetency, and well-meant shortcoming from heedless or stupid blunder. As he should be universal and impartial in his rewards and approval of merit, so should he be judicial and unbending in his punishment or reproof of misconduct.

In his intercourse with subordinates he should ever maintain the attitude of the commander, but that need by no means prevent him from the amenities of cordiality or the cultivation of good cheer within proper limits. Every commanding officer should hold with his subordinates such relations as will make them constantly anxious to receive invitation to sit at his mess-table, and his bearing toward them should be such as to encourage them to express their opinions to him with freedom and to ask his views without reserve.

It is always for the best interests of the service that a cordial interchange of sentiments and civilities should subsist between superior and subordinate officers aboard ship. Therefore it is the worst of policy in superiors to behave toward their subordinates with indiscriminate hauteur, as if the latter were of a lower species. Men of liberal minds, themselves accustomed to command, can ill brook being thus set at naught by others who, from temporary authority, may claim a monopoly of power and sense for the time being. If such men experience rude, ungentle treatment from their superiors, it will create such heart-burnings and resentments as are nowise consonant with that cheerful ardor and ambitious spirit that ought ever to be characteristic of officers of all grades. In one word, every commander should keep constantly before him the great truth that, to be well obeyed, he must be perfectly esteemed.

But it is not alone with subordinate officers that a commander has to deal. Behind them, and the foundation of all, is the crew. To his men the commanding officer should be Prophet, Priest, and King. His authority when off shore being necessarily absolute, the crew should be as one man impressed that the Captain, like the Sovereign, "can do no wrong"!

This is the most delicate of all the commanding officer's obligations. No rule can be set for meeting it. It must ever be a question of tact and perception of human nature on the spot and to suit the occasion. If an officer fails in this, he cannot make up for such failure by severity, austerity, or cruelty. Use force and apply restraint or punishment as he may, he will always have a sullen crew and an unhappy ship. But force must be used sometimes for the ends of discipline. On such occasions the quality of the commander will be most sorely tried. You and the other members of the Honorable Committee will, I am sure, pardon me for speaking with some feeling on this point. It is known

to you and, I presume, to the other gentlemen, your colleagues, that only a few years ago I was called upon in a desperate emergency and as a last resort to preserve the discipline requisite for the salvation of my ship and my fever-stricken crew, to put to death with my own hands a refractory and wholly incorrigible sailor. I stood jury trial for it, and was honorably acquitted. My acquittal was due wholly to the impression made upon the minds of the jury by the testimony of my crew. . . . I do not reproach myself. But it is a case to illustrate the truth of what I have already said; namely, that the commander should always impress his crew with the belief that, whatever he does or may have to do, is right, and that, like the Sovereign, he "can do no wrong"!

When a commander has, by tact, patience, justice, and firmness, each exercised in its proper turn, produced such an impression upon those under his orders in a ship of war, he has only to await the appearance of his enemy's topsails upon the horizon. He can never tell when that moment may come. But, when it does come, he may be sure of victory over an equal or somewhat superior force or honorable defeat by one greatly superior. Or, in rare cases, sometimes justifiable, he may challenge the devotion of his followers to sink with him alongside the more powerful foe, and all go down together with the unstricken flag of their country still waving defiantly over them in their ocean sepulchre!

No such achievements are possible to an unhappy ship with a sullen crew.

All these considerations pertain to the naval officer afloat. But part, and often an important part, of his career must be in port or on duty ashore. Here he must be of affable temper and a master of civilities. He must meet and mix with his inferiors of rank in society ashore, and on such occasions he must have tact to be easy and gracious with them, particularly when ladies are present, at the same time without the least air of patronage or affected condescension, though constantly preserving the distinction of rank.

It may not be possible to always realize these ideas to the full; but they should form the standard, and selections ought to be made with a view to their closest approximation.

In old established navies like, for example, those of Britain and France, generations are bred and specially educated to the duties and responsibilities of officers. In land forces, generals may and sometimes do rise from the ranks. But I have not yet heard of an admiral coming aft from a forecastle.

Even in the merchant service, master mariners almost invariably start as cabin apprentices. In all my wide acquaintance with the merchant service I can now think of but three competent master mariners who made their first appearance on board ship "through the hawse-hole," as the saying is.

A navy is essentially and necessarily aristocratic. True as may be the political principles for which we are now contending, they can

never be practically applied or even admitted on board ship, out of port or off soundings. This may seem a hardship, but it is nevertheless the simplest of truths. Whilst the ships sent forth by the Congress may and must fight for the principles of human rights and republican freedom, the ships themselves must be ruled and commanded at sea under a system of absolute despotism.

I trust that I have now made fairly clear to you the tremendous responsibilities that devolve upon the Honorable Committee of which you are a member. You are called upon to found a new navy; to lay the foundations of a new power afloat that must some time, in the course of human events, become formidable enough to dispute even with England the mastery of the ocean. Neither you nor I may live to see such growth. But we are here at the planting of the tree, and maybe some of us must, in the course of destiny, water its feeble and struggling roots with our blood. If so, let it be so! We cannot help it. We must do the best we can with what we have at hand!

II.

At this stage of our fortunes I think it unwise to attempt ships of the line. Such vessels are too large and costly both in building and keeping in commission, and require too many men for our present resources. Their use is mainly strategical, for which purpose they must operate in fleets and squadrons, calculated to fight ranged battles or to make extensive demonstrations or to protect military expeditions over sea or to overawe inferior powers.

The posture of our affairs does not present such requirements. We cannot hope to contend with Britain for mastery of the sea on a grand scale. We cannot now nor for a long time hope for conditions admitting of such an attitude. As it is, only four powers are able to maintain fleets of the line capable of standing up in ranged battle. They are England, France, Spain, and the Netherlands, and their fleets are the growth of centuries.

Besides these strategical and political considerations there are mechanical reasons against attempting ships of the line. Such vessels are nearly always built in the public dockyards abroad. It is seldom, even in England, that a private shipyard is entrusted with the building of a line-of-battle ship. In the dockyard is always an accumulation of timber of the scantling sizes required in such ships, which is kept seasoning for years before being put into frames and siding of ships. We have no dockyards, no seasoned timber of scantling sizes suitable for ships of the line. Hence, if we build them,—which few of our shipyards can do,—we must put green timber in them, fresh cut from the forests. Ships so built must be most perishable. In short, every element of our situation seems to me to condemn the project of building ships of the line.

Even supposing all the above considerations to be laid aside or overcome, we may yet survey the financial side. A seventy-four-gun ship on modern lines must be at least of 1,600 to 1,650 tons burthen. My information as late as two years ago, based upon parliamentary estimates and dockyard reports in England, is that a seventy-four, built at Chatham in 1773, cost between £19 and £20 per ton, when armed and equipped, ready to take on crew and sea-stores. In the present state of our resources I do not believe we could do as well, notwithstanding our cheaper and more plentiful supply of timber, at least of standing timber, because the other elements of building, such as metal for fastenings, armament, etc., would be much dearer than in England. But, supposing we could do as well, our seventy-four-gun ship of 1,600 tons must cost at least £28,500 to £30,000. Besides, as ships of that class must mount at least twenty-four-pounders on their lower gun-decks, where are we to get the guns? And, even so, we would, when done, have only a green timber ship for our £30,000 that must begin dry-rotting in her hull almost before her rigging is set up.

Nor would I go to the other extreme, and counsel the fitting out of small vessels able only to harass the enemy's commerce. That character of sea warfare, important as it is, may, I think, be left in the main to the enterprise or cupidity, or both, of private individuals or associations who will take out letters-of-marque and equip privateers.

You perceive that I now come to consider a class of ships we do need; that is, frigates. This class, rating from thirty-two to thirty-six guns, can sustain long voyages which the smaller craft cannot do. We can build a frigate in half the time required for a seventy-four, and at little, if any, more than half the cost. My latest knowledge of the cost of a frigate built in England is one of thirty-six guns, commissioned in 1774, of 820 tons, costing, ready for sea-stores, £13,400. I am sure we could do as well as that here, and, besides, there is much timber on hand in our private shipyards, or at least the larger ones, both in New England and on the Delaware, cut some time ago, seasoned, and intended for large merchant vessels, that could be worked into the frames, planking, and spars of thirty-two-gun or even thirty-six-gun frigates.

I have the general plans and dimensions of the latest thirty-six-gun, twelve-pounder frigate of the French Navy. [This was *La Terpsichore*.] Her dimensions are as follows:—

Length on the gun-deck	142	feet
“ of keel for tonnage	123	“
Extreme breadth	37	“
Depth of hold	12	“
Burthen in tons	848 to 850	
Main-deck battery	26 long	128
Quarter-deck battery	6	98
Forecastle battery	6	98
Complement, all hands	312	

I would undertake to arrange for the building of such a frigate here in Philadelphia, within sight of the place where the Committee sits, and guarantee that her cost, except the guns, but otherwise ready for crew and sea-stores, should not exceed £15,000, and I think it could be kept within £14,500 by careful economy. It would be wise to provide for the building of at least six such frigates. I would not counsel smaller ones, such as twenty-eights or even thirty-twos, because the drift of progress is to make frigates heavier all the time, and anything inferior to the twelve-pounder, thirty-six-gun frigate is now behind the times. On the other hand, I would take a step further than the English and French have yet gone in frigate design. I would create a class of eighteen-pounder frigates to rate thirty-eight or forty guns. Thus far eighteen-pounders have not been mounted in single-decked ships. Take the ship described above, add eight feet to her length, two feet to her breadth, and one foot to her depth of hold. That will give you a burthen of 1,000 tons or very nearly. She will carry twenty-six long eighteens on her gun-deck and fourteen long nines on quarter-deck and forecastle. By this means we shall have a ship of frigate build and rate, but one-half again stronger than any other frigate now afloat. In addition to the six already proposed, to carry twelve-pounders, it would be wise to provide for at least four of the new class of eighteen-pounder frigates that I propose, and, if possible, six.

We should, at the earliest moment, have a squadron of four, five, or six frigates like the above—either or both classes—constantly in British waters, harboring and refitting in the ports of France, which nation must from self-interest alone lean toward us from the start, and must sooner or later openly espouse our cause.

Keeping such a squadron in British waters, alarming their coasts, intercepting their trade, and descending now and then upon their least protected ports, is the only way that we, with our slender resources, can sensibly affect our enemy by sea warfare.

Rates of insurance will rise; necessary supplies from abroad, particularly naval stores for the British dockyards, will be cut off; transports carrying troops and supply ships bringing military stores for land operations against us will be captured; and last, but not least, a considerable force of their ships and seamen will be kept watching or searching for our frigates.

In planning and building our new frigates, I would keep fast sailing, on all points, in view as a prime quality. But no officer of true spirit would conceive it his duty to use the speed of his ship in escape from an enemy of like or nearly like force. If I had an eighteen-pounder frigate of the class above described, I should not consider myself justified in showing her heels to a forty-four of the present time or even to a fifty-gun ship built ten years ago.

A sharp battle now and then, or the capture and carrying as prize into a French port of one or two of their crack frigates, would raise us more in the estimation of Europe, where we now most of all need counte-

nance, than could the defeat or even capture of one of their armies on the land here in America. And at the same time it would fill all England with dismay. If we show to the world that we can beat them afloat with an equal force, ship to ship, it will be more than any one else has been able to do in modern times, and it will create a great and most desirable sentiment of respect and favor towards us on the Continent of Europe, where really, I think, the question of our fate must ultimately be determined.

Beyond this, if by exceedingly desperate fighting one of our ships shall conquer one of theirs of markedly superior force, we shall be hailed as the pioneers of a new power on the sea with untold prospects of development, and the prestige, if not the substance, of English dominion over the ocean will be forever broken. Happy, indeed, will be the lot of the American captain upon whom fortune shall confer the honor of fighting that battle!

Passage from Augustus C. Buell's Life of Paul Jones.

So far as origin and early environment operate to mould character or shape career, they were, in the case of Paul Jones, calculated to repress rather than to promote the traits he actually developed. There was nothing in the birth or childhood of the little boy of Arbigland to foreshadow a naval hero or to foreordain an immortal name. Born a Scottish peasant of the humblest parentage,—a parentage that in the middle of the eighteenth century could only be described as menial,—he enjoyed no advantages of early education, merely learning to read, write, and cipher in the humblest of parish schools. As for interest or influence in his behalf at the hands of those of higher birth, he had none, and, probably, had no practical conception of what the words meant. Even with such primitive and scant tuition, and totally unhelped by friend or family, he was launched on the ocean, while yet a child below his teens, not only to solve the problem of bread-winning, but also to battle with privation and tempest among the roughest of men in the hardest of trades and in the rudest of times.

Sailor at twelve, mate at seventeen, captain at twenty in the merchant service of the North Atlantic; slave-trader, East Indiaman, and Virginia planter,—all before he had passed the age of twenty-six; naval lieutenant at twenty-eight, captain at twenty-nine, and commodore at thirty-two; at thirty-three the ocean hero of the Old World and the New, a Knight of France, the most famous sea victor of his time, patronized by kings, petted by duchesses of the blood royal, thanked by Congress; and, more than all else, the trusted friend and valued associate of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Lafayette, Hamilton, and Morris; at thirty-six selected as special envoy to the most aristocratic of courts, charged with the most delicate, difficult, and intricate of missions,—the adjudi-

cation and collection of international claims,—without any guide of precedent or any commonly recognized code of procedure; at forty voted a gold medal by Congress; at forty-one a vice-admiral in the navy of an empire; at forty-three, a prominent figure in the overture of that tremendous drama, the French Revolution; and dead at forty-five!

No analysis of the character and no estimate of the intellect of Paul Jones from the purely speculative point of view can be as searching or as conclusive as the foregoing concise, chronological epitome of what he did, the time he had to do it in, and the conditions under which he wrought. He had hardly any childhood, and no period of youth at all. In all his study he had no teacher; and with all his learning—of languages, of history, of philosophy, or of the lore of his own profession itself—he never had a preceptor. Everything that he was or that he did or that he knew was the fruit of self-incentive and self-help to a degree that was, and still is, unexampled in the histories of great men. From this point of view, which seems to sustain itself without argument, the conclusion must be that Paul Jones owed as little debt to opportunity in the normal sense, and was as little beholden to the adventitious in circumstance as any successful man that ever lived.

From the age of twelve to that of twenty-six he lived aboard ship altogether, and was actually under way two-thirds of the time in blue water. The word "home" had no meaning for him. Even the idea of citizenship seems, in his earlier career at least, to have held light significance in his mind. He touches upon these topics in a passage of his celebrated letter to the Countess of Selkirk, written on the *Ranger*, May 8, 1778, after he had taken the *Drake*. "Though I have drawn my sword," he says, "in the present generous struggle for the rights of man, yet I am not in arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, I having no wife nor family. . . . I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little, the mean distinctions of climate and country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war was begun, I had at an early time of life withdrawn from sea service in favor of calm contemplation and poetic ease. I have sacrificed not only my favorite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart and my dream of domestic happiness."

In later life, Jones dropped much of the tendency to grandiloquence that marked his early style and that pervades his letter to Lady Selkirk; and he soon divested himself of "citizenship of the world," quite content with the fealty of an American citizen, which he maintained through all his vicissitudes.

John Paul was born in the parish of Kirkbean in Scotland, July 6, 1747. His father, whose name was also John Paul, was a gardener. The little stone cottage in which the future naval hero was born and passed his boyhood was hard by the north shore of the Solway, in full view of the ships which entered the Firth. His early plays were of ships and

sailors; and at the age of twelve he went to sea, visiting a brother in Fredericksburg, Va., on his first voyage. Later he served as mate on two vessels engaged in the slave-trade, but left this in disgust. Then, as master of a vessel, he made two voyages from Scotland to the West Indies, and engaged in local commerce with the Isle of Man. In 1773 he went to Virginia to take charge of the estate of his brother, who had died; and presently he added the name of Jones to John Paul. He settled down to "calm contemplation and poetic ease," as he expressed it afterwards, and he was evidently in straitened circumstances. During a visit to North Carolina he became acquainted with Joseph Hewes, one of the delegates to the Continental Congress, afterwards one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; and he became deeply interested in the events which were leading toward war with England on the part of the Colonies, with which he had cast in his lot.

Soon after the battle of Lexington he wrote a letter to Hewes, sending copies to Jefferson, Robert Morris, and Livingstone, whom he had also come to know, asking them to "call upon me in any capacity which your knowledge of my seafaring experience and your opinion of my qualifications may dictate." The need of a naval service was soon apparent. Rhode Island made the first demand for it, originally in her General Assembly, and then through her delegates in Congress. A Marine Committee was appointed by Congress; and Jones was requested to report on the "proper qualifications of naval officers and the kind of armed vessels most desirable for the service of the United States, keeping in view the limited resources of the Congress." He answered with the two remarkable reports, in the form of letters addressed—Sept. and Oct., 1775—to Joseph Hewes, a prominent member of the committee, the main portions of which are printed in the preceding pages. He argued for swift frigates rather than ships of the line, and showed a thorough knowledge of naval construction and the best method of conducting the war on the sea. "Keeping such a squadron in British waters, alarming their coasts, intercepting their trade, and descending now and then upon their least protected ports, is the only way that we, with our slender resources, can sensibly affect our enemy by sea warfare." This is precisely the program which Jones and others carried out. "If by exceedingly desperate fighting," he wrote, prophesying his own achievement, "one of our ships shall conquer one of theirs of markedly superior force, we shall be hailed as the pioneers of a new power on the sea, with untold prospects of development, and the prestige, if not the substance, of English dominion over the ocean will be forever broken." Nothing, he was sure, would so enlist European sympathy in our behalf as some brilliant naval triumph; and it was by European feeling and opinion, he believed, that our fate was ultimately to be determined.

Jones was appointed first lieutenant in the navy, Dec. 22, 1775, and was the first man who ever hoisted the American flag on a man-of-war. His first naval cruise was in the "Alfred," one of the vessels in Ezek. Hopkins's little squadron, which early in 1776 made a barren descent on New Providence Island. Subsequently, in command of the "Providence," he captured sixteen prizes in six weeks. Sailing for France in command of the "Ranger" late in 1777, he spent several months in harassing English shipping in St. George's Channel and elsewhere. He captured the "Drake," a British man-of-war of twenty guns, after a close action.

In August, 1779, he put to sea from L'Orient with a squadron of four vessels which with great difficulty he had got together. He named his own ship, an old Indiaman, the "Bon Homme Richard." His officers were Americans inexperienced in naval affairs, with a motley crew. The other vessels were commanded by Frenchmen, though all under the American flag. The expense of the expedition was borne by the King of France. Jones's bold scheme was to seize the shipping and exact a ransom at Leith, the port of Edinburgh, but this was frustrated by a gale which drove him out of the Firth. On September 23 he sighted a fleet of forty British merchantmen returning from the Baltic under convoy of the "Serapis," 44 guns, and the "Countess of Scarborough," 28 guns. The merchantmen ran in shore, anchoring under the guns of Scarborough Castle; and at seven in the evening began the desperate fight between the "Bon Homme Richard" and the "Serapis," vastly her superior, which resulted in Jones's famous victory after terrible loss, his ship sinking the next morning. The "Countess of Scarborough" was taken by another of his ships. The account of the battle by Captain Pearson of the "Serapis," as well as Jones's own account sent to Franklin, then our commissioner in France, reprinted in the present leaflet, is given in Sherburne's Life of Jones,—which also contains an account of particulars of the engagement by Lieutenant Richard Dale of the "Bon Homme Richard." It is in this account that we are told that, at a certain desperate stage of the battle, the "Bon Homme Richard" was hailed by the "Serapis" and asked, "Has your ship struck?"—to which Captain Jones answered, "I have not yet begun to fight."

Jones was received with enthusiasm in France. He received the thanks of Congress, and it was proposed to create the grade of rear-admiral for him. But he had no opportunity for further service under the American flag. He entered the Russian service in 1788, with the rank of rear-admiral, and served against the Turks. In 1792 an appointment as commissioner from our government to Algiers was sent to him at Paris, where he was then staying, but he died before receiving it. His last days were spent as a spectator of the thrilling scenes of the French Revolution, many of whose leading actors were his friends. He died July 18, 1792, at the age of forty-five. Only a week before he had made a speech

in the French Assembly, and expressed his love for America and France and his readiness to serve the cause of French liberty. The National Assembly sent a deputation, headed by its president, to his funeral, which was attended by his American friends and others. The body, clad in an American uniform, was encased in a leaden coffin, and buried in the Cemetery for Foreign Protestants. This was done at the instance of Gouverneur Morris, the American minister, who believed that the government of the United States would cause the remains to be brought home for final interment. Through the efforts of another American minister to France, General Horace Porter, this expectation is fulfilled. It is properly in the United States that his body finds its final resting-place. With all his roving and adventures, his many homes and varied political relations, it was as "a citizen of the United States" that he described himself in his will just before his death, and in the naval service of the United States that his great fame was won.

The first memoir of Paul Jones, that of Citoyen Benoit André, was published at Paris in 1798; and the next year Capelle's memoir was printed, as was also the French collection of papers. Many biographies —by Sherburne, Sands, Mackenzie, and others—appeared in English during the fifty years following his death. These are well noticed in the bibliographical appendix to the biography by Augustus C. Buell, which was published in 1900. In the same year was published the biography by Cyrus Townsend Brady. There is a bright brief biography by Hutchins Hapgood in the Riverside Biographical Series. Jones's naval service receives prominent notice in the various histories of the United States Navy; and it has been the subject of recent papers by Captain A. T. Mahan (*Scribner's Magazine*, July and August, 1898).

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The Voyage of the Mayflower.

FROM BRADFORD'S HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION.

Of their departure from Leyden, and other things ther aboute, with their arivall at South hamton, were they all mete togeather, and tooke in ther provissions.

At length, after much travell and these debats, all things were got ready and provided. A smale ship* was bought, & fitted in Holand, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in y^e cuntrie and atend upon fishing and shuch other affairs as might be for y^e good & benefite of y^e colonie when they came ther. Another was hired at London, of burden about 9. score;† and all other things gott in readines. So being ready to departe, they had a day of solleme humiliation, their pastor taking his texte from Ezra 8. 21. *And ther at y^e river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance.* Upon which he spent a good parte of y^e day very profitably, and suitable to their presente occasion.‡ The rest of the time was spent in powering out prairs to y^e Lord with great fervencie, mixed with abundance of tears. And y^e time being come that they must departe, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of y^e citie, unto a towne

* The Speedwell.

† The Mayflower.

‡ Edward Winslow, in a controversial tract printed in London twenty-six years after this time, gives the substance of some "wholesome counsel Mr. Robinson gave that part of the church whereof he was pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great work of plantation in New England," which has been justly celebrated for the noble spirit of Christian liberty that pervades it. This is usually styled Robinson's "farewell discourse"; but whether it was preached from the text cited above, or not, Winslow, the only authority for it, does not inform us.

sundrie miles of called Delfes-Haven,* wher the ship lay ready to receive them. So they lefte y^e goodly & pleasante citie, which had been ther resting place near 12. years; but they knew they were pilgrimes, & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to y^e heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits. When they came to y^e place they found y^e ship and all things ready; and shuch of their freinds as could not come with them followed after them, and sundrie also came from Amsterdame to see them shipte and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with litle sleepe by y^e most, but with freindly entertainente & christian discourse and other reall expressions of true christian love. The next day, the wind being faire, they wente aborde, and their freinds with them, where truly dolfull was y^e sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praies did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, & pithy speeches peirst each harte; that sundry of y^e Dutch strangers y^t stood on y^e key as spectators, could not refraine from tears. Yet comfortable & sweete it was to see shuch lively and true expressions of dear & unfained love. But y^e tide (which stais for no man) caling them away y^t were thus loath to departe, their Re^vr^ed^d: pastor falling downe on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watrie cheeks comended them with most fervente praies to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbrases and many tears, they tooke their leaves one of an other; which proved to be y^e last leave to many of them.

Thus hoysing saile,† with a prosperus winde they came in short time to Southhamton, wher they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready, wth all the rest of their company. After a joyfull wellcome, and mutuall congratulations, with othe^r frendly entertainements, they fell to parley aboute their bussines, how to dispatch with y^e best expedition; as allso with their agents, aboute y^e alteration of y^e conditions. M^r. Carver pleaded he was imployed hear at Hamton, and knew not well what y^e other had don at London. M^r. Cushman answered, he had done nothing but what he was urged too, partly by y^e grounds of equity, and more espetially by necessitie, other wise all had bene dasht and many undon. And in y^e begining he ac-

* "The minor part, with Mr. Brewster, their elder, resolved to enter upon this great work, (but take notice the difference of number was not great,) . . . they that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music. . . . After this they accompanied us to Delph's Haven, where we were to embark, and there feasted us again."—*Winslow*.

† This was about July 22, 1620

quainted his felow agents here with, who consented unto him, and left it to him to execute, and to receive y^e money at London and send it downe to them at Hamton, wher they made y^e provisions; the which he accordingly did, though it was against his minde, & some of y^e marchants, y^t they were their made. And for giving them notice at Leyden of this change, he could not well in regarde of y^e shortnes of y^e time; againe, he knew it would trouble them and hinder y^e bussines, which was already delayed overlong in regard of y^e season of y^e year, which he feared they would find to their cost. But these things gave not contente at presente. Mr. Weston, likewise, came up from London to see them dispatcht and to have y^e conditions confirmed; but they refused, and answered him, that he knew right well that these were not according to y^e first agremente, neither could they yeeld to them without y^e consente of the rest that were behind. And indeed they had spetiall charge when they came away, from the cheefe of those that were behind, not to doe it. At which he was much offended, and tould them, they must then looke to stand on their owne leggs. So he returned in displeasure, and this was y^e first ground of discontent betweene them. And wheras ther wanted well near 100^{li}. to clear things at their going away, he would not take order to disburse a penie, but let them shift as they could. So they were forst to selle of some of their provisions to stop this gape, which was some 3. or 4. score firkins of butter, which comoditie they might best spare, haveing provided too large a quantitie of y^t kind. Then they write a leter to y^e marchants & adventurers aboute y^e diferances concerning y^e conditions, as foloweth.

Aug. 3. An^o: 1620.

Beloved freinds, sory we are that ther should be occasion of writing at all unto you, partly because we ever expected to see y^e most of you hear, but espetially because ther should any difference at all be conceived between us. But seing it faleth out that we cannot conferr together, we thinke it meete (though breffly) to shew you y^e just cause & reason of our differring from those articles last made by Robart Cushman, without our comission or knowledg. And though he might propound good ends to himselfe, yet it no way justifies his doing it. Our maine difference is in y^e 5. & 9. article, concerning y^e deviding or holding of house and lands; the injoying wherof some of your selves well know, was one spetiall motive, amongst many other, to provoke us to goe. This was thought so reasonable, y^t when y^e greatest of you in adventure (whom we have much cause to respect), when he propounded conditions to us freely of his owne accorde, he set this downe for one;

a copy whereof we have sent unto you, with some additions then added by us; which being liked on both sides, and a day set for y^e paymente of moneys, those of Holland paid in theirs. After y^t, Robart Cushman, M^r. Peirce, & M^r. Martine, brought them into a better forme, & write them in a booke now extante; and upon Robarts shewing them and delivering M^r. Mullins a copy therof under his hand (which we have), he payd in his money. And we of Holland had never seen other before our coming to Hamton, but only as one got for him selfe a private copy of them; upon sight wherof we manifested utter dislike, but had put of our estats & were ready to come, and therefore was too late to rejecte y^e vioage. Judge therefore we beseech you indifferently of things, and if a faulte have bene comited, lay it when it is, & not upon us, who have more cause to stand for y^e one, then you have for y^e other. We never gave Robart Cushman comission to make any one article for us, but only sent him to receive moneys upon articles before agreed on, and to further y^e provissions till John Carver came, and to assiste him in it. Yet since you conceive your selves wronged as well as we, we thought meete to add a branch to y^e end of our 9. article, as will allmost heale that wound of it selfe, which you conceive to be in it. But that it may appeare to all men y^t we are not lovers of our selves only, but desire also y^e good & inriching of our freinds who have adventured your moneys with our persons, we have added our last article to y^e rest, promising you againe by letters in y^e behalfe of the whole company, that if large profits should not arise within y^e 7. years, y^t we will continue togeather longer with you, if y^e Lord give a blessing.* This we hope is sufficiente to satisfie any in this case, espetially freinds, since we are asured y^t if the whole charge was devided into 4. parts, 3. of them will not stand upon it, netheir doe regarde it, &c. We are in shuch a streate at presente, as we are forced to sell away 60^{li}. worth of our provissions to cleare y^e Haven, & withall put our selves upon great extremities, scarce haveing any butter, no oyle, not a sole to mend a shoe, nor every man a sword to his side, wanting many muskets, much armour, &c. And yet we are willing to expose our selves to shuch eminent dangers as are like to insue, & trust to y^e good providence of God, rather then his name & truth should be evill spoken of for us. Thus saluting all of you in love, and beseeching y^e Lord to give a blesing to our endeavore, and keepe all our harts in y^e bonds of peace & love, we take leave & rest,

Yours, &c.

Aug. 3. 1620.

It was subscribed with many names of y^e cheefest of y^e company.

At their parting M^r. Robinson write a letter to y^e whole company, which though it hath already bene printed, yet I thought

* "It was well for them y^t this was not accepted." —Bradford's Note.

good here likewise to inserte it; as also a breefe leter writ at y^e same time to Mr. Carver, in which y^e tender love & godly care of a true pastor appears. [These two noble letters of Robinson, here omitted, are both printed in Old South Leaflet No. 142, "Words of John Robinson."]

This letter, [that to the whole company] though large, yet being so frutfull in it selfe, and suitable to their occation, I thought meete to inserte in this place.

All things being now ready, & every bussines dispatched, the company was caled together, and this letter read amongst them, which had good acceptation with all, and after fruit with many. Then they ordered & distributed their company for either shipe, as they conceived for y^e best. And chose a Gov^r & 2. or 3. assistants for each shipe, to order y^e people by y^e way, and see to y^e disposing of there provissions, and shuch like affairs. All which was not only with y^e liking of y^e maisters of y^e ships, but according to their desires. Which being done, they sett sayle from thence aboute y^e 5. of August; but what befell them further upon y^e coast of England will appeare in y^e nexte chapter.

Off the troubls that befell them on the coaste, and at sea, being forced, after much trouble, to leave one of ther ships & some of their companie behind them.

Being thus put to sea they had not gone farr, but Mr. Reinolds y^e m^r. of y^e leser ship complained that he found his ship so leak as he durst not put further to sea till she was mended. So y^e m^r. of y^e bigger ship (caled Mr. Joans) being consulted with, they both resolved to put into Dartmouth & have her ther searched & mended, which accordingly was done, to their great charg & losse of time and a faire winde. She was hear thorowly searcht from steme to sterne, some leaks were found & mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen & all, that she was sufficiente, & they might proceede without either fear or danger. So with good hopes from hence, they put to sea againe,* conceiving they

* Smith, who speaks of but one embarkation, prior to the final sailing of the Mayflower from Plymouth on the 6th of September, says, "they left the coast of England the 23d of August, with about 120 persons." Bradford gives no dates in the narrative as to the time when they put into Dartmouth or when they departed thence. Cushman, on page 71, in a letter written from Dartmouth to a friend in London, dated Aug. 17th, says, "We lie here waiting for her [the Speedwell, which was being 'mended'] in as fair a wind as can blow, and so have done these four days, and are like to lie four more," &c. From this passage Prince doubtless gathered his dates, where he says, "they put into Dartmouth about Aug. 13"; and "about Aug. 21 they set sail again." This latter date is of course somewhat conjectural, and that given by Smith, above quoted, may be the correct one. See New England's Trials, p. 16, 2d ed., London, 1622; Prince, I. 71.

should goe comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out otherwise, for after they were gone to sea againe above 100. leagues without the Lands End, houlding company togeather all this while, the m^r. of y^e small ship complained his ship was so leake* as he must beare up or sinke at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they came to consultation againe, and resolved both ships to bear up backe againe & put into Plimoth, which accordingly was done. But no spetiall leake could be founde, but it was judged to be y^e generall weaknes of y^e shipe, and that shee would not prove sufficiente for the voiage. Upon which it was resolved to dismise her & parte of y^e companie, and proceede with y^e other shipe. The which (though it was greevous, & caused great discouragmente) was put in execution. So after they had tooke out such provision as y^e other ship could well stow, and concluded both what number and what persons to send bak, they made another sad parting, y^e one ship going backe for London, and y^e other was to proceede on her viage. Those that went bak were for the most parte such as were willing so to doe, either out of some discontente, or feare they conceived of y^e ill success of y^e vioage, seeing so many croses befall, & the year time so farr spent; but others, in regarde of their owne weaknes, and charge of many yonge children, were thought least usefull, and most unfite to bear y^e brunte of this hard adventure; unto which worke of God, and judgmente of their brethern, they were contented to submite. And thus, like Gedions armie, this small number was devided, as if y^e Lord by this worke of his providence thought these few to many for y^e great worke he had to doe. But here by the way let me show, how afterward it was found y^t the leaknes of this ship was partly by being over masted, and too much pressed with sayles; for after she was sould & put into her old trime, she made many viages & performed her service very sufficiently, to y^e great profite of her owners. But more espetially, by the cuning & deceite of y^e m^r. & his company, who were hired to stay a whole year in y^e cuntrie, and now fancying dislike & fearing wante of victeles, they ploted this strategem to free them selves; as afterwards was knowne, & by some of them confessed. For they apprehended y^t the greater ship, being of force, & in whom most of y^e provissions were stowed, she would retayne enough for

* Smith says, "but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leak that forced their return to Plymouth, where, discharging her and *twenty* passengers, with the great ship and a hundred persons besides sailors, they set sail again the sixth of September," &c. New England's Trials, p. 16.

her selfe, what soever became of them or y^e passengers; & indeed shuch speeches had bene cast out by some of them; and yet, besides other encouragements, y^e cheefe of them that came from Leyden wente in this shipe to give y^e m^r. contente. But so strong was self love & his fears, as he forgott all duty and former kindnesses, & delt thus falsly with them, though he pretended otherwise. Amongest those that returned was M^r. Cushman & his familie, whose hart & courage was gone from them before, as it seems, though his body was with them till now he departed; as may appear by a passionate letter he write to a freind in London from Dartmouth, whilst y^e ship lay ther a mending; the which, besides y^e expressions of his owne fears, it shows much of y^e providence of God working for their good beyonde man's expectation, & other things concerning their condition in these streets. I will hear relate it. And though it discover some infirmities in him (as who under temptation is free), yet after this he continued to be a spetiall instrumente for their good, and to doe y^e offices of a loving freind & faithfull brother unto them, and pertaker of much comforte with them.

The letter is as followth.

To his loving friend Ed: S.* at Henige House in y^e Duks Place, these,
&c.

Dartmouth, Aug. 17.

Loving friend, my most kind remembrance to you & your wife, with loving E. M. &c. whom in this world I never looke to see againe. For besides y^e eminent dangers of this viage, which are no less then deadly, an infirmite of body hath ceased me, which will not in all lic'ly-hoode leave me till death. What to call it I know not, but it is a bundle of lead, as it were, crushing my harte more & more these 14. days, as that allthough I doe y^e acctions of a liveing man, yet I am but as dead; but y^e will of God be done. Our pinass will not cease leaking, els I thinke we had been halfe way at Virginia, our viage hither hath been as full of crosses, as our selves have been of crokednes. We put in hear to triñe her, & I thinke, as others also, if we had stayed at sea but 3. or 4. howers more, shee would have sunke right downe. And though she was twice triñed at Hamton, yet now shee is open and leakie as a seive; and ther was a borde, a man might have puld of with his fingers, 2. foote longe, wher y^e water came in as at a mole hole. We lay at Hamton 7. days, in fair weather, waiting for her, and now we lye hear waiting for her in as faire a wind as can blowe, and so have done these 4. days, and are like to lye 4. more, and by y^t time y^e wind will happily

* The person to whom this letter is addressed is doubtless the Edward Southworth whose widow, Alice, was afterwards married to Governor Bradford.

turne as it did at Hampton. Our victualls will be halfe eaten up, I thinke, before we goe from the coaste of England, and if our viage last longe, we shall not have a months victialls when we come in y^e countrie. Neare 700^{li}. hath bene bestowed at Hampton, upon what I know not. Mr. Martin saith he neither can nor will give any accounte of it, and if he be called upon for accounts he crieth out of unthankfullnes for his paines & care, that we are susspicious of him, and flings away, & will end nothing. Also he so insulteh over our poore people, with shuch scorne & contempte, as if they were not good enough to wipe his shoes. It would break your hart to see his dealing,* and y^e mourning of our people. They complaine to me, & alas! I can doe nothing for them; if I speake to him, he flies in my face, as mutinous, and saith no complaints shall be heard or received but by him selfe, and saith they are frowarde, & waspish, discontented people, & I doe ill to hear them. Ther are others y^t would lose all they have put in, or make satisfaction for what they have had, that they might departe; but he will not hear them, nor suffer them to goe ashore, least they should rune away. The sailors also are so offended at his ignorante bouldnes, in meddling & controuling in things he knows not what belongs too, as y^t some threaten to misscheefe him, others say they will leave y^e shipe & goe their way. But at y^e best this cometh of it, y^t he maks him selfe a scorne & laughing stock unto them. As for Mr. Weston, excepte grace doe greatly swaye with him, he will hate us ten times more then ever he loved us, for not confirming y^e conditions. But now, since some pinches have taken them, they begine to reveile y^e trueth, & say Mr. Robinson was in y^e falte who charged them never to consente to those conditions, nor chuse me into office, but indeede apointed them to chose them they did chose.† But he & they will rue too late, they may now see, & all be ashamed when it is too late, that they were so ignorante, yea, & so inordinate in their courses. I am sure as they were resolved not to seale those conditions, I was not so resolute at Hampton to have left y^e whole bussines, excepte they would seale them, & better y^e vioage to have bene broken of then, then to have brought such miserie to our selves, dishonour to God, & detrimente to our loving freinds, as now it is like to doe. 4. or 5. of y^e cheefe of them which came from Leyden, came resolved never to goe on those conditions. And M^r. Martine, he said he never received no money on those conditions, he was not beholden to y^e marchants for a pine, they were bloudsuckers, & I know not what. Simple man, he indeed never made any conditions wth the marchants, nor ever spake with them. But did all that money flie to Hampton, or was it his owne? Who will goe & lay out money so rashly & lavishly as he did, and never know how he comes by it, or on what conditions? 2^{ly}. I told him of y^e alteration longe agoe, & he was contente; but now he dominires, &

* "He was governour in y^e bigger ship, & Mr. Cushman assistante."—*Bradford*.

† "I thinke he was deceived in these things."—*Bradford*.

said I had betrayed them into y^e hands of slaves; he is not beholden to them, he can set out 2. ships him selfe to a viage. When, good man? He hath but 50^{li}. in, & if he should give up his accounts he would not have a penie left him, as I am persuaded,* &c. Freind, if ever we make a plantation, God works a mirakle; especially considering how scante we shall be of victualls, and most of all ununited amongst our selves, & devoyd of good tuturs & regimente. Violence will break all. Wher is y^e meek & humble spirite of Moyses? & of Nehemiah who reedified y^e wals of Jerusalem, & y^e state of Israell? Is not y^e sound of Rehoboams braggs daly hear amongst us? Have not y^e philosophers and all wise men observed y^t, even in settled comone welths, violente governours bring either them selves, or people, or boath, to ruine; how much more in y^e raising of comone wealths, when y^e morter is yet scarce tempered y^t should bind y^e wales. If I should write to you of all things which promiscuously forerune our ruine, I should over charge my weake head and greeve your tender hart; only this, I pray you prepare for evill tidings of us every day. But pray for us instantly, it may be y^e Lord will be yet entreated one way or other to make for us. I see not in reason how we shall escape even y^e gasping of hunger starved persons; but God can doe much, & his will be done. It is better for me to dye, then now for me to bear it, which I doe daly, & expecte it howerly; haveing received y^e sentance of death, both within me & without me. Poore William King & my selfe doe strive who shall be meate first for y^e fishes; but we looke for a glorious resurrection, knowing Christ Jesus after y^e flesh no more, but looking unto y^e joye y^t is before us, we will endure all these things and accounte them light in comparison of y^t joye we hope for. Remember me in all love to our freinds as if I named them, whose praises I desire earnestly, & wish againe to see, but not till I can with more comforte looke them in y^e face. The Lord give us that true comforte which none can take from us. I had a desire to make a breefe relation of ourestate to some freind. I doubte not but your wisdom will teach you seasonably to utter things as here after you shall be called to it. That which I have written is treue, & many things more which I have forborne. I write it as upon my life, and last confession in England. What is of use to be spoken of presently, you may speake of it, and what is fitt to conceile, conceall. Pass by my weake maner, for my head is weake, & my body feeble, y^e Lord make me strong in him, & keepe both you & yours.

Your loving freind,

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

Dartmouth, Aug. 17. 1620.

These being his conceptions & fears at Dartmouth, they must needs be much stronger now at Plimoth.

* "This was found true afterward."—*Bradford*.

Of their vioage, & how they passed y^e sea, and of their safe arrivall at Cape Codd.

Sept^r: 6. These troubls being blowne over, and now all being compacte togeather in one shipe, they put to sea againe with a prosperus winde, which continued diverce days togeather, which was some incuragmente unto them; yet according to y^e usuall maner many were afflicted with sea-sicknes. And I may not omite hear a spetiall worke of Gods providence. Ther was a proud & very profane yonge man, one of y^e sea-men, of a lustie, able body, which made him the more hauty; he would allway be contemning y^e poore people in their sicknes, & cursing them dayly with greëous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast halfe of them over board before they came to their jurneys end, and to make mery with what they had; and if he were by any gently reprovèd, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it plased God before they came halfe seas over, to smite this yong man with a greeveous disease, of which he dyed in a desperate maner, and so was him selfe y^e first y^t was throwne overbord. Thus his curses light on his owne head; and it was an astonishmente to all his fellows, for they noted it to be y^e just hand of God upon him.

After they had injoyed faire winds and weather for a season, they were incountred many times with crosse winds, and mette with many feirce stormes, with which y^e shipe was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leakie; and one of the maine beames in y^e midd ships was bowed & craked, which put them in some fear that y^e shipe could not be able to performe y^e vioage. So some of y^e cheefe of y^e company, perceiveing y^e mariners to feare y^e suffisiencie of y^e shipe, as appeared by their mutterings, they entred into serious consulltation with y^e m^r. & other officers of y^e ship, to consider in time of y^e danger; and rather to returne then to cast them selves into a desperate & inevitable perill. And truly ther was great distraction & differance of opinion amongst y^e mariners them selves; faine would they doe what could be done for their wages sake, (being now halfe the seas over,) and on y^e other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperatly. But in examening of all opinions, the m^r. & others affirmed they knew y^e ship to be stronge & firme under water; and for the buckling of y^e maine beame, ther was a great iron scrue y^e passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise y^e beame into his place; y^e which being done, the carpenter

& m^r. affirmed that with a post put under it, set firme in y^e lower deck, & otherways bounde, he would make it sufficiente. And as for y^e decks & uper workes they would calke them as well as they could, and though with y^e workeing of y^e ship they would not longe keepe stanch, yet ther would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they comited them selves to y^e will of God, & resolved to proseed. In sundrie of these stormes the winds were so feirce, & y^e seas so high, as they could not beare a knote of saile, but were forced to hull, for diverce days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storme, a lustie yonge man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above y^e grattings, was, with a seele* of y^e shipe throwne into [y^e] sea; but it pleased God y^t he caught hould of y^e tope-saile halliards, which hunge over board, & rane out at length; yet he held his hould (though he was sundrie fadomes under water) till he was hald up by y^e same rope to y^e brime of y^e water, and then with a boat hooke & other means got into y^e shipe againe, & his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church & comone wealthe. In all this viage ther died but one of y^e passengers, which was William Batten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near y^e coast. But to omite other things, (that I may be breefe,) after longe beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod;† the which being made & certainly knowne to be it, they were not a litle joyfull. After some deliberation had amongst them selves & with y^e m^r. of y^e ship, they tacked aboute and resolved to stande for y^e southward (y^e wind & weather being faire) to finde some place aboute Hudsons river for their habitation. But after they had sailed y^t course aboute halfe y^e day, they fell amongst deangerous shoulds and roring breakers, and they were so farr intangled ther with as they conceived them selves in great danger; & y^e wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought them selves hapy to gett out of those dangers before night overtooke them, as by Gods providence they did. And y^e next day they gott into y^e

* *Seel* (with the sailors) is when a ship rolls or is tossed about suddenly and violently by the force of the waves.

† "Upon the 9th of November, by break of day, we espied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved." See Mourt's Relation. There is good reason for believing that Bradford wrote the earlier portion of this tract, many passages in it being almost identical with passages in his History.

Cape-harbor wher they ridd in saftie.* A word or too by y^e way of this cape; it was thus first named by Capten Gosnole & his company,† An^o: 1602, and after by Capten Smith was caled Cape James; but it retains y^e former name amongst sea-men. Also y^t pointe which first shewed those dangerous shoulds unto them, they called Pointe Care, & Tuckers Terroure;‡ but y^e French & Dutch to this day call it Malabarr, by reason of those perilous shoulds, and y^e losses they have suffered their.

Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed y^e God of heaven, who had brought them over y^e vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all y^e periles & miseries therof, againe to set their feete on y^e firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on y^e coast of his owne Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious & dreadfull was y^e same unto him.

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers y^e same. Being thus passed y^e vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembred by y^t which wente before), they had now no freinds to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to y^e apostle & his shipwreaked company, y^t the barbarians shewed them no smale kindnes in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their

* "Upon the 11th of November we came to an anchor in the bay," &c. "The same day so soon as we could, we set ashore fifteen or sixteen men." *Mourt*. It appears, therefore, that the Mayflower was sixty-five days on the passage from Plymouth (England) to Cape Cod, leaving the former place on the 6th of September. By reference to Governor Bradford's list of passengers, it will be seen that ONE HUNDRED AND TWO passengers, including servants and all those who came over in the employ of the colonists, sailed from Plymouth in the Mayflower, at the final embarkation; and that the same number arrived at Cape Cod. William Butten, a servant of Samuel Fuller, died on the passage, but the integrity of the number was preserved by the birth of Oceanus Hopkins. There were four deaths and one birth after the arrival at Cape Cod, and before the landing of the exploring party in the shallop, at Plymouth, on the 11th of December.

† "Because y^ey tooke much of y^t fishe ther."—*Bradford*.

‡ "Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we descried a point with some breach, a good distance off, and keeping our luff to double it, we came on the sudden into shoal water, yet well quitted ourselves thereof. This breach we call Tucker's Terror, upon his expressing fear. The point we named Point Care." Archer's Relation of Gosnold's Voyage, Old South Leaflet, 120.

sids full of arrows then otherwise. And for y^e season it was winter, and they that know y^e winters of y^t cuntrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wildernes, full of wild beasts & willd men? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not. Nether could they, as it were, goe up to y^e tope of Pisgah, to vew from this willdernes a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turnd their eys (save upward to y^e heavens) they could have little solace or content in respectes of any outward objects. For sūmer being done, all things stand upon them with a wetherbeaten face; and y^e whole cuntrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was y^e mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to seperate them from all y^e civill parts of y^e world. If it be said they had a ship to sucour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from y^e m^r. & company? but y^t with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance; for y^e season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keepe sufficient for them selves & their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them & their goods ashore & leave them. Let it also be considred what weake hopes of supply & succoure they left behinde them, y^t might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, y^e affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall & entire towards them, but they had litle power to help them, or them selves; and how y^e case stode betweene them & y^e marchants at their coming away, hath allready been declared. What could now sustaine them but y^e spirite of God & his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this willdernes; but they cried unto y^e Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, &c.* Let them therfore praise y^e. Lord, because he is good, & his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of y^e Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from y^e hand of y^e oppressour. When they wan-

dered in y^e deserte willdernes out of y^e way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungrie, & thirstie, their soule was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before y^e Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderfull works before y^e sons of men.

Showing how they sought out a place of habitation, and what befell them therabout.

Being thus arrived at Cap-Codd y^e 11. of November, and necessitie calling them to looke out a place for habitation, (as well as the maisters & mariners importunitie,) they having brought a large shalop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in y^e ship, they now gott her out & sett their carpenters to worke to trime her up; but being much brused & shatered in y^e shipe wth foule weather, they saw she would be longe in mending. Wherupon a few of them tendered them selves to goe by land and discover those nearest places, whilst y^e shallop was in mending; and y^e rather because as they wente into y^t harbor ther seemed to be an opening some 2. or 3. leagues of, which y^e maister judged to be a river. It was conceived ther might be some danger in y^e attempte, yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to goe, being 16. of them well armed, under y^e conduct of Captain Standish,* having shuch instructions given them as was thought meete. They sett forth y^e 15. of Nove^{br}: and when they had marched aboute y^e space of a mile by y^e sea side, they espied 5. or 6. persons with a dogg coming towards them, who were salvages; but they fled from them, & rañe up into y^e woods, and y^e English followed them, partly to see if they could speake with them, and partly to discover if ther might not be more of them lying in ambush. But y^e Indeans seeing them selves thus followed, they againe forsooke the woods, & rane away on y^e sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by y^e tracte of their feet sundrie miles, and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their randevous & set out ther sentinels, and rested in quiete y^e night, and the next morning followed their tracte till they had headed a great creak, & so left the sands, & turned an other way into y^e woods. But they still followed them by geuss, hoping to find their dwellings; but they soone lost both them & them selves, falling into shuch thickets as were ready to tear their cloaths

* "Unto whom was adjoined, for counsel and advise, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley."—*Mourt.*

& armore in peeces, but were most distressed for wante of drinke. But at length they found water & refreshed them selves, being y^e first New-England water they drunke of, and was now in thir great thirste as pleasante unto them as wine or bear had been in for-times. Afterwards they directed their course to come to y^e other shore, for they knew it was a necke of land they were to crosse over, and so at length gott to y^e sea-side, and marched to this supposed river, & by y^e way found a pond of clear fresh water, and shortly after a good quantitie of clear ground wher y^e Indeans had formerly set corne, and some of their graves. And proceeding further they saw new-stubble wher corne had been set y^e same year, also they found wher latly a house had been, wher some planks and a great kete was remaining, and heaps of sand newly padled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them diuerce faire Indean baskets filled with corne, and some in eares, faire and good, of diuerce collours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, (haveing never seen any such before). This was near y^e place of that supposed river they came to seeck; unto which they wente and found it to open it selfe into 2. armes with a high cliffe of sand in y^e entrance, but more like to be crikes of salte water then any fresh, for ought they saw; and that ther was good harborige for their shalope; leaving it further to be discovered by their shalop when she was ready. So their time limeted them being expired, they returned to y^e ship, least they should be in fear of their saftie; and tooke with them parte of y^e corne, and buried up y^e rest, and so like y^e men from Eshcoll carried with them of y^e fruits of y^e land, & showed their breethren; of which, & their returne, they were marvelusly glad, and their harts encouraged.

After this, y^e shalop being got ready, they set out againe for y^e better discovery of this place, & y^e m^r. of y^e ship desired to goe him selfe, so ther went some 30. men, but found it to be no harbor for ships but only for boats; ther was allso found 2. of their houses covered with matts, & sundrie of their implements in them, but y^e people were rune away & could not be seen; also ther was found more of their corne, & of their beans of various collours. The corne & beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meete with any of them (as about some 6. months afterward they did, to their good contente). And here is to be noted a spetiall providence of God, and a great mercie to this poore people, that hear they gott seed to plant them corne y^e next year, or els they might have starved, for they

had none, nor any liklyhood to get any till y^e season had beene past (as y^e sequell did manyfest). Neither is it lickly they had had this, if y^e first viage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, & hard frozen. But the Lord is never wanting unto his in their greatest needs; let his holy name have all y^e praise.

The month of November being spent in these affairs, & much foule weather falling in, the 6. of *Desem^r*: they sente out their shallop againe with 10. of their principall men, & some sea men,* upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deepe bay of Cap-codd. The weather was very could, & it frose so hard as y^e sprea of y^e sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glased; yet *that night* betimes they gott downe into y^e botome of y^e bay, and as they drue nere y^e shore they saw some 10. or 12. Indeans very busie aboute some thing. They landed aboute a league or 2. from them, and had much a doe to put a shore any wher, it lay so full of flats. Being landed, it grew late, and they made them selves a barricade with loggs & bowes as well as they could in y^e time, & set out their sentenill & betooke them to rest, and saw y^e smoake of y^e fire y^e savages made y^t night. When *morning* was come they devided their company, some to coast alonge y^e shore in y^e boate, and the rest marched throw y^e woods to see y^e land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came allso to y^e place wher they saw the Indans y^e night before, & found they had been cuting up a great fish like a grampus, being some 2. inches thike of fate like a hogg, some peeces wher of they had left by y^e way; and y^e shallop found 2. more of these fishes dead on y^e sands, a thing usuall after storms in y^t place, by reason of y^e great flats of sand that lye of. So they ranged up and doune all y^t day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When y^e sune grue low, they hasted out of y^e woods to meete with their shallop, to whom they made signes to come to them into a *creeke* hardby, the which they did at high-water; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all y^t day, since y^e morning. So they made them a barricado (as usually they did every night) with loggs, staks, & thike pine bowes, y^e height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from y^e could & wind (making their fire in y^e

* "To wit, Captain Standish, Master Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Houland, and three of London, Richard Warren, Steeven Hopkins, and Edward Dotte, and two of our seamen, John Alderton and Thomas English. Of the ship's company there went two of the master's mates, Master Clarke and Master Coppin, the master gunner, and three sailors."—*Mourt.*

middle, & lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of y^e savags, if they should surround them. So being very weary, they betooke them to rest. But aboute *midnight*, they heard a hideous & great crie, and their sentinall caled, "Arme, arme"; so they bestired them & stood to their armes, & shote of a cupple of moskets, and then the noys seased. They concluded it was a companie of wolves, or such like willd beasts; for one of y^e sea men tould them he had often heard shuch a noyse in New-found land. So they rested till about 5. of y^e clock in the *morning*; for y^e tide, & ther purposs to goe from thence, made them be stiring betimes. So after praier they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning, it was thought best to be carring things downe to y^e boate. But some said it was not best to carrie y^e armes downe, others said they would be the readier, for they had laped them up in their coats from y^e dew. But some 3. or 4. would not cary theirs till they wente them selves, yet as it fell out, y^e water being not high enough, they layed them downe on y^e banke side, & came up to breakfast. But presently, all on y^e sudain, they heard a great & strange crie, which they knew to be the same voyces they heard in y^e night, though they varied their notes, & one of their company being abroad came runing in, & cried, "Men, Indeans, Indeans"; and wth all, their arowes came flying amongst them. Their men rane with all speed to recover their armes, as by y^e good providence of God they did. In y^e mean time, of those that were ther ready, tow muskets were discharged at them, & 2. more stood ready in y^e enterance of ther randevoue, but were comanded not to shoote till they could take full aime at them; & y^e other 2. charged againe with all speed, for ther were only 4. had armes ther, & defended y^e baricado which was first assalted. The crie of y^e Indeans was dreadful, espetially when they saw ther men rune out of y^e randevoue towourds y^e shallop, to recover their armes, the Indeans wheeling aboute upon them. But some runing out with coats of malle on, & cutlasses in their hands, they soone got their armes, & let flye amongst them, and quickly stopped their violence. Yet ther was a lustie man, and no less valiante, stood behind a tree within halfe a musket shot, and let his arrows flie at them. He was seen shoot 3. arrowes, which were all avoyded. He stood 3. shot of a musket, till one taking full aime at him, and made y^e barke or splinters of y^e tree fly about his ears, after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they wente all of them. They left some to keep y^e shalop, and followed them aboute a

quarter of a mille, and shouted once or twise, and shot of 2. or 3. peces, & so returned. This they did, that they might conceive that they were not affraide of them or any way discouraged. Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enimies, and give them deliverance; and by his spetiall providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurte, or hitt, though their arrows came close by them, & on every side them, and sundry of their coats, which hunge up in y^e barricado, were shot throw & throw. Aterwards they gave God sollamne thanks & praise for their deliverance, & gathered up a bundle of their arrows, & sente them into England afterward by y^e m^r. of y^e ship, and called that place y^e first encounter. From hence they departed, & costed all along, but discerned no place likly for harbor; & therfore hasted to a place that their pillote, (one M^r. Coppin who had bine in y^e cuntrie before) did assure them was a good harbor, which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night; of which t^ley were glad, for it begane to be foule weather. After some houres sailing, it begane to snow & raine, & about y^e midle of y^e afternoone, y^e wind increased, & y^e sea became very rough, and they broake their rudder, & it was as much as 2. men could doe to steere her with a cupple of oares. But their pillott bad them be of good cheere, for he saw y^e harbor; but y^e storme increasing, & night drawing on, they bore what saile they could to gett in, while they could see. But herwith they broake their mast in 3. peeces, & their saill fell over bord, in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by Gods mercie they recovered them selves, & having y^e floud with them, struck into y^e harbore. But when it came too, y^e pillott was deceived in y^e place, and said, y^e Lord be mercifull unto them, for his eys never saw y^t place before; & he & the m^r. mate would have rune her ashore, in a cove full of breakers, before y^e winde. But a lusty seaman which steered, bad those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or ells they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheere & row lustly, for ther was a faire sound before them, & he doubted not but they should find one place or other wher they might ride in saftie. And though it was *very darke*, and rained sore, yet in y^e end they gott under y^e lee of a smalle iland, and remained ther all y^t night in saftie. But they knew not this to be an iland till morning, but were devided in their minds; some would keepe y^e boate for fear they might be amongst y^e Indians; others were so weake and could, they could not endure, but got ashore, & with much adoe got

fire, (all things being so wett,) and y^e rest were glad to come to them; for after midnight y^e wind shifted to the north-west, & it frose hard. But though this had been a day & night of much trouble & danger unto them, yet God gave them a *morning* of comforte & refreshing (as usually he doth to his children), for y^e next day was a faire sunshin^g day, and they found them sellvs to be on an iland* secure from y^e Indeans, wher they might drie their stufe, fixe their peeces, & rest them selves, and gave God thanks for his mercies, in their manifould deliverances. And this being the *last day of y^e weeke*, they prepared ther to keepe y^e *Sabath*. On Munday they sounded y^e harbor, and founde it fitt for shipping; and marched into y^e land,† & found diverse cornfeilds, & litle runing brooks, a place (as they supposed) fitt for situation; at least it was y^e best they could find, and y^e season, & their presente necessitie, made them glad to accepte of it. So they returned to their shipp againe with this news to y^e rest of their people, which did much comforte their harts.‡

On y^e 15. of *Desem^r*: they wayed anchor to goe to y^e place they had discovered, & came within 2. leagues of it, but were faine to bear up againe; but y^e 16. *day* y^e winde came faire, and they arrived safe in this harbor. And after wards tooke better view of y^e place, and resolved wher to pitch their dwelling; and y^e 25. *day* begane to erecte y^e first house for comone use§ to receive them and their goods. . . .

I shall a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being y^e first foundation of their governmente in this place; occasioned partly by y^e discontented & mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in y^e ship—That when they came

* "This was afterwards called Clark's island, because Mr. Clark, the master's mate, first stepped on shore thereon."—*Morton's Memorial*.

† December 11th, celebrated as the day of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. It corresponds to December 21st, new style.

‡ This exploring party of eighteen persons, six of whom were of the *crew* of the Mayflower, were absent from their companions about a week. They found, on their return, that on the day after their leaving the ship, December 7th, Dorothy, the wife of Bradford, who was with the absent party, fell overboard, and was drowned.

§ The common house was about twenty feet square: tradition locates it on the south side of Leyden Street, near the declivity of the hill. From the minute journal of their daily proceedings, in Mourt's Relation, we learn that on the 28th of December as many as could went to work on the hill (Burial Hill), where they proposed to build a platform for their ordnance; and on the same day they proceeded to measure out the grounds for their habitations, having first reduced all the inhabitants to nineteen families. On the 9th of January they went to labor in the building of their town, in two rows of houses. The houses were built on each side of what is now Leyden Street.

ashore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to comānd them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New-england, which belonged to an other Government, with which y^e Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that shuch an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure. The forme was as followeth.

In y^e name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by y^e grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king, defender of y^e faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for y^e glorie of God, and advancemente of y^e Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant y^e first colonie in y^e Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in y^e presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of y^e ends afore-said; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for y^e generall good of y^e Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd y^e 11. of November, in y^e year of y^e raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland y^e eighteenth, and of Scotland y^e fiftie fourth. An^o: Dom. 1620.

William Bradford was born at Austerfield, near Scrooby, in 1588; and he had become a leading member of Brewster's little congregation at the time, 1608, when the congregation fled from Scrooby to Holland. No man was more familiar with the Pilgrim history from the beginning. Upon Carver's death, in 1621, he was elected to succeed him as governor at Plymouth; and he continued to hold this office, with two slight breaks, to the time of his death, in 1657. His "History of Plymouth Plantation," from which the passage given in the present leaflet is taken, is the chief book in our New England Old Testament. The romantic story of the loss of the manuscript from the Old South Meeting-house at the time of the British evacuation of Boston, and its discovery in 1855 in the Bishop of London's palace at Fulham, has been told by Charles Deane in his introduction to the volume as published by the Massachusetts Historical Society [Mr. Deane's notes are largely used in the preceding pages], and by Justin Winsor in a special paper. The manuscript was returned to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by the Consistorial Court of the Diocese of London in 1897, mainly through the efforts of Hon. George F. Hoar, and is preserved in the State Library. A complete fac-simile of it has been published, and an excellent popular edition of the work has also been Published by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Dr. Azel Ames's "The Mayflower and her Log" is a mine of information concerning everything relating to the famous ship and her voyage. See Old South Leaflets, No. 48, Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster; 49, Bradford's First Dialogue; 77, Cotton Mather's Lives of Bradford and Winthrop; 100, Robert Browne's "Reformation without Tarrying for Any," and, 142, The Words of John Robinson.

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The Planting of Colonies in New England.

FROM JOHN WHITE'S "THE PLANTERS' PLEA."*

WHAT ENDS MAY BE PROPOSED IN PLANTING COLONIES.

The ends that men have proposed to themselves in issuing out colonies have been divers. Some, and the worst and least warrantable, are such as are only swayed by private respects, as when men shift themselves and draw others with them out of their countries, out of undutiful affections to governors to exempt themselves from subjection to lawful power, or aim at a great name to themselves and to raise their own glory. As for the enlargement of trade, which drew on the Spanish and Dutch colonies in the East Indies, or securing of conquered countries, which occasioned many colonies of the Romans in Italy and other lands, they may be so far warranted as the grounds of the conquests or trades were warrantable (if they were carried without injury or wrong to the natives), seeing natural commerce between nations and conquests upon just wars have been always approved by the laws of God and man.

As for those colonies that have been undertaken upon the desire either of disburthening of full states of unnecessary multitudes, or of replenishing waste and void countries, they have a clear and sufficient warrant from the mouth of God as immediately concurring with one special end that God aimed at in the first institution thereof.

But, seeing God's honor and glory, and next men's salvation,

*The Planters' Plea, or the Grounds of Plantations Examined and Usual Objections Answered. Together with a Manifestation of the Causes moving such as have undertaken a Plantation in New England. For the satisfaction of those that question the lawfulness of the action. London: Printed by William Jones, 1630.

is His own principal scope in this and all His ways, it must withal be necessarily acknowledged that the desire and respect unto the publishing of His name where it is not known, and reducing men that live without God in this present world, unto a form of piety and godliness, by how much the more immediately it suits with the mind of God, and is furthest carried from private respects, by so much the more it advanceth this work of planting colonies above all civil and humane ends, and deserves honor and approbation above the most glorious conquests or successful enterprises that ever were undertaken by the most renowned men that the sun hath seen, and that by how much the subduing of Satan is a more glorious act than a victory over men, and the enlargement of Christ's kingdom than the adding unto men's dominions, and the saving of men's souls than the provision for their lives and bodies.

It seems this end in plantations hath been specially reserved for this latter end of the world, seeing before Christ the decree of God that suffered all nations to walk in their own ways (Acts xiv. 16) shut up the church within the narrow bounds of the promised land, and so excluded men from the propagation of religion to other countries. And in the apostles' time God afforded an easier and more speedy course of converting men to the truth by the gift of tongues, seconded by the power of miracles to win the greater credit to their doctrine, which most especially and first prevailed upon countries civilized, as the history of the apostles' acts makes manifest. As for the rest I make no question but God used the same way to other barbarous nations which He held with us, whom He first civilized by the Roman conquests, and mixture of their colonies with us, that He might bring in religion afterwards, seeing no man can imagine how religion should prevail upon those who are not subdued to the rule of nature and reason.

Nay, I conceive God especially directs this work of erecting colonies unto the planting and propagating of religion in the West Indies (although I will not confine it to those alone), and that for divers reasons, which ought to be taken into serious consideration, as affording the strongest motives that can be proposed to draw on the hearts and affections of men to this work now in hand, for this purpose, which gives occasion unto the publishing of this treatise.

There are, and those men of note both for place and learning in the church, that conceive the course held by God from the

beginning in the propagation of religion falls in this last age upon the western parts of the world.

It is true that from the first planting of religion among men it hath always held a constant way from East to West, and hath, in that line, proceeded so far that it hath extended to the uttermost western bounds of the formerly known world, so that if it make any further passage upon that point of the compass it must necessarily light upon the West Indies. And they conceive withal that our Saviour's prophecy (Matthew xxiv. 27) points out such a progress of the gospel. It is true that the comparison there used, taken from the lightning, aims at the sudden dispersing of the knowledge of Christ by the apostle's ministry; but whereas we know the lightning shines from divers parts of the heaven, showing itself indifferently, sometimes in the west, sometimes in the north or south, why doth our Saviour in that similitude choose to name the lightning that shines out of the east into the west, unless it be to express not only the sudden shining out of the gospel, but withal the way and passage by which it proceeds from one end of the world to the other, that is, from east to west?

But, passing by that only as a probable argument, this which follows seems to carry greater weight.

The knowledge of Christ must certainly be manifested unto all the quarters of the world, according to divers predictions of prophets, ratified and renewed by Christ and His apostles. But that the knowledge of Christ hath never been discovered unto these western nations may be almost demonstrated, seeing no history for five hundred years before Christ ever mentioned any such inhabitants of the earth, much less left any record of any passage unto them or commerce with them. So that unless we should conceive a miraculous work of conceiving knowledge, without means, we cannot imagine how these nations should once hear of the name of Christ, which seems the more evident by this, that we find among them not so much as any relics of any of those principles which belong to that mystery, although in some place may be discovered some footsteps of the knowledge of God, of the creation, and of some legal observations.

As in New England the nations believe the creation of the world by God, the creation of one man and woman, their happy condition at the first and seduction by the envy (as they say) of the cony, which moves them to abhor that creature unto this day more than any serpent. It is also reported that they separate their women in the times appointed by the law of Moses, counting

them and all they touch unclean during that time appointed by the law, whether upon any other ground or by a tradition received from the Jew, it is uncertain. Some conceive their predecessors might have had some commerce with the Jews in times past, by what means I know not. Howsoever it be, it falls out that the name of the place which our late colony hath chosen for their seat proves to be perfect Hebrew, being called Nahum Keike, by interpretation the bosom of consolation, which it were a pity that those which observed it not should change into the name of Salem, though upon a fair ground, in remembrance of a peace settled upon a conference at a general meeting between them and their neighbors, after expectance of some dangerous jar. Now then, if all nations must have Christ tendered unto them, and the Indies have never yet heard of His name, it must follow that work of conveying that knowledge to them remains to be undertaken and performed by this last age.

Again, what shall we conceive of that almost miraculous opening the passage unto and discovery of these formerly unknown nations which must needs have proved impossible unto former ages for want of the knowledge of the use of the loadstone, as wonderfully found out as these unknown countries by it. It were little less than impiety to conceive that God (whose will concurs with the lighting of a sparrow upon the ground) had no hand in directing one of the most difficult and observable works of this age, and as great folly to imagine that He who made all things, and consequently orders and directs them to His own glory, had no other scope but the satisfying of men's greedy appetites that thirsted after the riches of that new-found world, and to tender unto them the objects of such barbarous cruelties as the world never heard of. We cannot then probably conceive that God, in that strange discovery, aimed at any other thing but this, that after He had punished the atheism and idolatry of those heathen and brutish nations by the conqueror's cruelty, and acquainted them by mixture of some other people, with civility, to cause at length the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ to shine out unto them as it did to our forefathers after those sharp times of the bitter desolations of our nation between the Romans and the Picts.

A fourth reason to prove that God hath left this great and glorious work to this age of the world is the nearness of the Jews' conversion, before which it is conceived by the most that the fullness of the Gentiles must come in according to the apostle's prophecy (Romans xi. 25). That this day cannot be far off

appears by the fulfilling of the prophecies precedent to that great and glorious work and the general expectation thereof by all men, such as was found among the Jews both in Judea and in some other parts of the world before the coming of Christ in the flesh, now then let it be granted that the Jews' conversion is near, and that the Gentiles, and consequently the Indians, must needs be gathered in before that day, and any man may make the conclusion that this is the hour for the work, and consequently of our duty to endeavor the effecting that which God hath determined, the opening of the eyes of those poor ignorant souls and discovering unto them the glorious mystery of Jesus Christ.

THE ENGLISH NATION IS FIT TO UNDERTAKE THIS TASK.

That this nation is able and fit to send out colonies into foreign parts will evidently appear by the consideration of our overflowing multitudes. This being admitted for a received principle, that countries superabound in people when they have more than they can well nourish or well employ, seeing we know men are not ordained to live only, but withal and especially to serve one another through love in some profitable and useful calling. Granting, therefore, that this land, by God's ordinary blessing, yields sufficiency of corn and cattle for more than the present inhabitants, yet that we have more people than we do or can profitably employ will, I conceive, appear to any man of understanding, willing to acknowledge the truth and to consider these four particulars:—

1. Many among us live without employment either wholly or in the greatest part (especially if there happen any interruption of trade, as of late was manifested not only in Essex, but in most parts of the land), and that do not only such as delight in idleness, but even folk willing to labor who either live without exercise in their callings or are fain to thrust into other men's to the evident prejudice of both.

2. The labors of many others might well be spared and to the state's advantage, as serving to little else than luxury and wantonness, to the impoverishing and corrupting of the most, of which there needs no better evidence than this, that when we tax pride and excess in apparel, buildings, etc., the evils are justified, and our mouths stopped with this answer: without this how should many men live and be maintained? No man is so uncivil as to deny super-necessaries for distinction of degrees, or

supercilious as to think it necessary to reduce a wealthy and abounding state to the plainness and homeliness of the primitive ages. But let our excess be limited to those bounds of decency, modesty, and sobriety that may answer the proportion of men's callings and degrees, and it will be demonstrated the tenth persons of such as are busied about superfluities will hardly find sufficient employment to yield themselves and their families necessary maintenance.

3. That warrantable and useful callings are overcharged, all men's complaints sufficiently witness, not only innholders and shopkeepers, of both which we need not the third person, but even handy craftsmen, as shoemakers, tailors, nay, masons, carpenters, and the like, many of whom with their families live in such a low condition as is little better than beggary, by reason of the multitudes that are bred up and exercised in those employments. And yet through the excessive numbers of persons in those and other callings, necessity enforceth them to require so large a price and recompense of their labors that a man of good estate is not able to afford himself conveniences for his condition (every calling he hath use of exhausting so much for the commodities it puts off onto him), whereas, if the number of those persons in their several callings were abated, the rest, having full employment, might be able to abate of their excessive prices, whereby both they and their chapmen might live more comfortably and plentifully, and the commonwealth by this help would be eased of many burthens it groans under, in making supply to the scanty means of many thousands in these callings so much overlaid with multitudes.

4. Yea, of such as are employed, a great part of their labor were needless, if their works were faithful and loyal. The deceitfulness of our works (of which all men complain, but few discern the cause) occasioneth the often renewing of those things which are made, which otherwise would endure for far longer continuance.

Now what a disease this must needs be in a state where men's necessities enforce them to inventions of all ways and means of expense upon the instruments of pride and wantonness, and of as many subtilties and frauds in deceitful handling all works that pass through their fingers, that by the speedy wasting of what is made they may be the sooner called upon for new, I leave it to any wise man to judge. It is a fearful condition, whereby men are in a sort enforced to perish or to become means and instru-

ments of evil. So that the conclusion must stand firm, we have more men than we can employ to any profitable or useful labor.

OBJECTION.

But the idleness or unprofitable labors of our people arise not from our numbers, but from our ill government, inferior magistrates being too remiss in their offices, and therefore may more easily be reformed by establishing better order, or executing those good laws already made at home, than by transporting some of them into foreign countries.

ANSWER.

Good government, though it do reform many, yet it cannot reform all the evils of this kind, because it will be a great difficulty to find out profitable employments for all that will want, which way we should help ourselves by tillage I know not; we can hardly depasture fewer rother-beasts than we do, seeing we spend already their flesh and hides, and as for sheep, the ground depastured with them doth, or might, set on work as many hands as tillage can do. If we adventure the making of linen cloth, other soils are so much fitter to produce the materials for that work, their labor is so much cheaper, the hindering of commerce in trade likely to be so great, that the undertakers of this work would in all probability be soon discouraged. Nay, the multiplying of new draperies, which perhaps might effect more than all the rest, yet were in no proportion sufficient to employ the supernumeraries which this land would yield if we could be confined within the bounds of sobriety and modesty, seeing it may be demonstrated that near a third part of those that inhabit our towns and cities (besides such spare men as the country yields) would, by good order established, be left to take up new employments.

We have as much opportunity as any nation to transport our men and provisions by sea into those countries without which advantage they cannot possibly be peopled from any part of the world, not from this Christian part at least, as all men know. And how useful a neighbor the sea is to the furthering of such a work the examples of the Grecians and the Phœnicians, who filled all the bordering coasts with their colonies, do sufficiently prove unto all the world. Neither can it be doubted but the first planters wanting this help (as Abraham in his removing to Charran

first, and to Canaan afterwards) must needs spend much time and endure much labor in passing their families and provisions by land over rivers and through woods and thickets by unbeaten paths.

But what need arguments to us that have already determined this truth? How many several colonies have we drawn out and passed over into several parts of the West Indies? And this we have done with the allowance, encouragement, and high commendation of state, perhaps not always with the best success, who knows whether by erring from the right scope? Questionless for the want of fit men for that employment, and experience to direct a work, which, being carried in an untrodden path, must needs be subject to miscarriage into many errors.

Now, whereas it hath been manifested that the most eminent and desirable end of planting colonies is the propagation of religion, it may be conceived this nation is in a sort singled out unto that work, being of all the states that enjoy the liberty of the religion reformed, and are able to spare people for such an employment, the most orthodox in our profession, and behind none in sincerity in embracing it, as will appear to any indifferent man that shall duly weigh and recount the number and condition of those few states of Europe that continue in the profession of that truth which we embrace.

THAT NEW ENGLAND IS A FIT COUNTRY FOR THE SEATING OF AN ENGLISH COLONY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF RELIGION.

Not only our acquaintance with the soil and natives there, but more especially our opportunity of trading thither for furs and fish, persuade this truth, if other things be answerable. It is well known, before our breach with Spain, we usually sent out to New England yearly forty or fifty sail of ships of reasonable good burthen, for fishing only. And howsoever it falls out that our Newfoundland voyages prove more beneficial to the merchants, yet it is as true these to New England are found far more profitable to poor fishermen, so that by that time all reckonings are cast up these voyages come not far behind the other in advantage to the state.

No country yields a more propitious air for our temper than New England, as experience hath made manifest, by all relations. Many of our people that have found themselves alway weak and sickly at home have become strong and healthy there, perhaps

by the dryness of the air and constant temper of it, which seldom varies suddenly from cold to heat, as it doth with us, so that rheums are very rare among our English there, neither are the natives at any time troubled with pain of teeth, soreness of eyes, or ache in their limbs. It may be the nature of the water conduceth somewhat this way, which all affirm to keep the body always temperately soluble, and consequently helps much to the preventing and curing of the gout and stone, as some have found by experience. As for provisions for life, the corn of the country (which it produceth in good proportion, with reasonable labor) is apt for nourishment, and agrees, although not so well with our taste at first, yet very well with our health, nay, is held by some physicians to be restorative. If we like not that, we may make use of our own grains, which agree well with that soil, and so do our cattle; nay, they grow unto a greater bulk of body there than with us in England. Unto which if we add the fish, fowl, and venison which that country yields in great abundance, it cannot be questioned but that soil may assure sufficient provision for food; and, being naturally apt for hemp and flax especially, may promise us linen sufficient, with our labor, and woollen, too, if it may be thought fit to store it with sheep.

The land affords void ground enough to receive more people than this state can spare, and that not only wood grounds, and others which are unfit for present use, but in many places much cleared ground for tillage, and large marshes for hay and feeding of cattle, which comes to pass by the desolation happening through a three years' plague, about twelve or sixteen years past, which swept away most of the inhabitants all along the seacoast, and in some places utterly consumed man, woman, and child, so that there is no person left to lay claim to the soil which they possessed. In most of the rest the contagion hath scarce left alive one person of an hundred. And which is remarkable, such a plague hath not been known or remembered in any age past, nor then raged above twenty or thirty miles up into the land, nor seized upon any other but the natives, the English in the heat of the sickness commercing with them without hurt or danger. Besides, the natives invite us to sit down by them and offer us what ground we will, so that either want of possession by others or the possessor's gift and sale may assure our right, we need not fear a clear title to the soil.

In all colonies it is to be desired that the daughter may answer something back by way of retribution to the mother that gave

her being. Nature hath as much force, and founds as strong a relation between people and people as between person and person, so that a colony denying due respect to the state from whose bowels it issued is as great a monster as an unnatural child. Now a colony planted in New England may be many ways useful to this state.

As first in furthering our fishing voyages (one of the most honest and every way profitable employments that the nation undertakes), it must needs be a great advantage unto our men, after so long a voyage, to be furnished with fresh victuals there, and that supplied out of that land without spending the provisions of our own country. But there is hope besides that the colony shall not only furnish our fishermen with victuals, but with salt, too, unless men's expectation and conjectures much deceive them, and so quit unto them a great part of the charge of their voyage, beside the hazard of adventure.

Next, how serviceable this country must needs be for provisions for shipping is sufficiently known already. At present it may yield planks, masts, oars, pitch, tar, and iron, and hereafter (by the aptness of the soil for hemp), if the colony increase, sails and cordage. What other commodities it may afford besides for trade, time will discover. Of wines, among the rest, there can be no doubt, the ground yielding natural vines in great abundance and variety, and, of these, some as good as any are found in France, by human culture. But in the possibility of the serviceableness of the colony to this state the judgment of the Dutch may somewhat confirm us, who have planted in the same soil and make great account of their colony there.

But the greatest advantage must needs come unto the natives themselves, whom we shall teach providence and industry, for want whereof they perish oft-times, while they make short provisions for the present by reason of their idleness, and that they have they spend and waste unnecessarily, without having respect to times to come. Withal, commerce and example of our course of living cannot but, in time, breed civility among them, and that, by God's blessing, may make way for religion consequently, and for the saving of their souls. Unto all which may be added the safety and protection of the persons of the natives, which are secured by our colonies. In times past the Tarentines (who dwell from those of Massachusetts bay, near which our men are seated, about fifty or sixty leagues to the north-east), inhabiting a soil unfit to produce that country grain, being the more hardy people,

were accustomed yearly at harvest to come down in their canoes and reap their fields and carry away their corn, and destroy their people, which wonderfully weakened and kept them low in times past. From this evil our neighborhood hath wholly freed them, and consequently secured their persons and estates, which makes the natives there so glad of our company.

OBJECTION I.

But if we have any spare people, Ireland is a fitter place to receive them than New England. Being, 1, nearer; 2, our own; 3, void in some parts; 4, fruitful; 5, of importance for the securing of our own land; 6, needing our help for their recovery out of blindness and superstition.

ANSWER.

Ireland is well-nigh sufficiently peopled already, or will be in the next age. Besides, this work need not hinder that, no more than the plantation in Virginia, Bermudas, S. Christopher's, Barbadoes, etc., which are all of them approved and encouraged as this is. As for religion, it hath reasonable footing in Ireland already, and may easily be propagated further, if we be not wanting to ourselves. This country of New England is destitute of all helps and means by which the people might come out of the snare of Satan. Now, although it be true that I should regard my son more than my servant, yet I must rather provide a coat for my servant that goes naked than give my son another, who hath reasonable clothing already.

OBJECTION II.

But New England hath divers discommodities, the snow and coldness of the winter, which our English bodies can hardly brook, and the annoyance of men by musquitoes and serpents, and of cattle and corn by wild beasts.

ANSWER.

The cold of winter is tolerable, as experience hath and doth manifest, and is remedied by the abundance of fuel. The snow lies indeed about a foot thick for ten weeks or thereabout, but

where it lies thicker and a month longer, as in many parts of Germany, men find a very comfortable dwelling. As for the serpents, it is true there are some, and these larger than our adders, but in ten years' experience no man was ever endangered by them, and, as the country is better stored with people, they will be found fewer and as rare as among us here. As for the wild beasts, they are no more nor so much dangerous or hurtful here as in Germany and other parts of the world. The mosquitoes indeed infest the planters about four months in the heat of summer, but after one year's acquaintance men make light account of them; some slight defence for the hands and face, smoke and a close house, may keep them off. Neither are they much more noisome than in Spain, Germany, and other parts, nay, than the fennish parts of Essex and Lincolnshire. Besides, it is credibly reported that twenty miles inward into the country they are not found; but this is certain, and tried by experience, after four or five years' habitation they wax very thin. It may be the hollowness of the ground breeds them, which the treading of the earth by men and cattle doth remedy in time.

OBJECTION III.

But if the propagation of religion be the scope of the plantation, New England, which is so naked of inhabitants, is the unfittest of any place for a colony; it would more further that work to set down in some well-peopled country that might afford many subjects to work upon and win to the knowledge of the truth.

ANSWER.

1. But how shall we get footing there? The Virginian colony may be our precedent, where our men have been entertained with continual broils by the natives, and by that means shut out from all hope of working any reformation upon them, from which their hearts must needs be utterly averse by reason of the hatred which they bear unto our persons; whereas New England yields this advantage, that it affords us a clear title to our possessions there, and good correspondence with the natives, whether out of their peaceable disposition or out of their inability to make resistance, or out of the safety which they find by our neighborhood, it skills not much. This is certain, it yields

a fair way to work them to that tractableness which will never be found in the Virginians. Neither have we any cause to complain for want of men to work upon. The inland parts are indifferently populous, and Narragansett bay and river, which border upon us, are full of inhabitants who are quiet with us, and trade with us willingly, while we are their neighbors, but are very jealous of receiving either us or the Dutch into the bowels of their country, for fear we should become their lords.

2. Besides, in probability, it will be more advantageous to this work to begin with a place not so populous, for, as the resistance will be less, so by them having once received the gospel, it may be more easily and successfully spread to the places better peopled, who will more easily receive it from the commendation of their own countrymen than from strangers, and flock to it as doves to the windows.

3. Though in the place where they plant there are not many natives, yet they have an opportunity by way of traffic and commerce (which at least is generally once a year), with the natives in a large compass, though far distant from them, by which means they grow into acquaintance with them, and may take many advantages of conveying to them the knowledge of Christ, though they live not with them.

OBJECTION IV.

But the country wants means of wealth that might invite men to desire it, for there is nothing to be expected in New England but competency to live on at the best, and that must be purchased with hard labor, whereas divers other parts of the West Indies offer a richer soil, which easily allures inhabitants by the tender of a better condition than they live in at present.

ANSWER.

An unanswerable argument to such as make the advancement of their estates the scope of their undertaking, but no way a discouragement to such as aim at the propagation of the gospel, which can never be advanced but by the preservation of piety in those that carry it to strangers. Now we know nothing sorts better with piety than competency, a truth which Agur hath determined long ago (Proverbs xxx. 8). Nay, heathen men, by the light of nature, were directed so far as to discover the over-

flowing of riches to be enemy to labor, sobriety, justice, love, and magnanimity, and the nurse of pride, wantonness, and contention, and therefore labored by all means to keep out the love and desire of them from their well-ordered states, and observed and professed the coming in and admiration of them to have been the foundation of their ruin. If men desire to have a people degenerate speedily, and to corrupt their minds and bodies, too, and besides to tolerate thieves and spoilers from abroad, let them seek a rich soil that brings in much with little labor; but, if they desire that piety and godliness should prosper, accompanied with sobriety, justice, and love, let them choose a country such as this is, even like France or England, which may yield sufficiency with hard labor and industry. The truth is, there is more cause to fear wealth than poverty in that soil.

WHAT PERSONS MAY BE FIT TO BE EMPLOYED IN THIS WORK OF PLANTING A COLONY.

It seems to be a common and gross error that colonies ought to be emunctories or sinks of state, to drain away their filth, whence arise often murmurings at the removal of any men of state or worth, with some wonder and admiration that men of sufficiency and discretion should prefer anything before a quiet life at home,—an opinion that savors strongly of self-love, always opposite and enemy to any public good. This fundamental error hath been the occasion of the miscarriage of most of our colonies, and the chargeable destruction of many of our countrymen, whom, when we have once issued out from us, we cast off, as we say, to the wide world, leaving them to themselves either to sink or swim.

Contrary to this common custom, a state that intends to draw out a colony for the inhabiting of another country must look at the mother and the daughter with an equal and indifferent eye, remembering that a colony is a part and member of her own body, and such in whose good herself hath a peculiar interest, which, therefore, she should labor to further and cherish by all fit and convenient means, and consequently must allow to her such a proportion of able men as may be sufficient to make the frame of that new-formed body, as good governors, able ministers, physicians, soldiers, schoolmasters, mariners, and mechanics of all sorts, who had therefore need to be of the more sufficiency, because the first fashioning of a politic body is a harder task than

the ordering of that which is already framed, as the first erecting of a house is ever more difficult than the future keeping of it in repair, or as the breaking of a colt requires more skill than the riding of a managed horse. When the frame of the body is thus formed and furnished with vital parts, and knit together with firm bands and sinews, the bulk may be filled up with flesh, that is, with persons of less use and activity, so they be pliable and apt to be kept in life.

The disposition of these persons must be respected as much or more than their abilities. Men nourished up in idleness, unconstant, and affecting novelties, unwilling, stubborn, inclined to faction, covetous, luxurious, prodigal, and generally men habituated to any gross evil, are no fit members of a colony. Ill-humors soon overthrow a weak body, and false stones in a foundation ruin the whole building. The persons, therefore, chosen out for this employment ought to be willing, constant, industrious, obedient, frugal, lovers of the common good, or at least such as may be easily wrought to this temper, considering that works of this nature try the undertakers with many difficulties, and easily discourage minds of base and weak temper. It cannot, I confess, be hoped that all should be such. Care must be had that the principals be so inclined, and as many of the vulgar as may be, at least that they be willing to submit to authority; mutinies which many times are kindled by one person, are well-nigh as dangerous in a colony as in an army.

These are rules concerning electing of fit persons for colonies in general, unto which must be adjoined the consideration of the principal scope whereat the colony aims, which must be religion; whether it be directed to the good of others for their conversion or of the planters themselves for their preservation and continuance in a good condition, in which they cannot long subsist without religion. To this purpose must be allotted to every colony, for governors and ministers especially, men of piety and blameless life, especially in such a plantation as this in New England, where their lives must be the patterns to the heathen, and the special, effectual means of winning them to the love of the truth. Nay, it would be endeavored that all governors of families either may be men truly godly or at least such as consent and agree to a form of moral honesty and sobriety. As for other ends less principal, which are especially merchandise and defense, common sense teacheth every man that the colony must be furnished with the greatest store of such persons as are most serviceable to the main end at which it aims.

OBJECTION.

But able and godly persons being in some degree supporters of the state that sends them out, by sparing them, she seems to pluck away her own props, and so to weaken her own standing, which is against the rule of charity, that allows and persuades every man to have the first care of his own good and preservation.

ANSWER.

The first, indeed, but not the only care; so I must provide for mine own family, but not for that alone. But to answer this objection more fully, which troubles many, and distracts their thoughts, and strikes indeed at the foundation of this work (for either we must allow some able men for civil and ecclesiastical affairs for peace and war or no colonies at all): First, I deny that such as are gone out from the state are cut off from the state; the roots that issue out from the trunk of the tree, though they be dispersed, yet they are not severed, but do good offices, by drawing nourishment to the main body, and the tree is not weakened, but strengthened the more they spread, of which we have a clear instance in the Roman state. That city by the second Punick war had erected thirty colonies in several parts of Italy, and by their strength especially supported herself against her most potent enemies. I confess that in places so far distant as New England from this land the case is somewhat different; the intercourse is not so speedy, but it must needs be granted yet that even those so far remote may be of use and service to this state still, as hath been showed.

Secondly, if some useful men be spared, to whom do we spare them? Is it not to a part of our own body? Those whom we send out, are they not our own flesh and bones? and, if we send them out for their greater good, that they may prosper better in a larger room, and in part, too, for our own ease, that their absence may give us the more scope at home, shall it seem much unto us to allow them (without any great loss to ourselves) a few persons whom, though we would not willingly spare to strangers, yet upon good consideration we may, according to the principle of nature, bestow upon our own?

Thirdly, are we altogether our own and for ourselves? or God's and for His glory? We spare them to God and to religion and to the church's service. We are owners of our own estates, it is true, but, when the service of God or the church requires a

share of them, shall any man answer with Nabal (1 Samuel xxv. 11), "Shall I take my bread," etc.? The primitive churches, planted by the apostles, were content to spare some of their own pastors sometimes for the public service of the church and good of their brethren. If it be objected, those were brethren and neighbors, these are pagans and beasts rather than men, let us be entreated to reflect upon ourselves, and set before us the face of our progenitors 1500 or 1600 years since, that we may answer to our own hearts, such were some of us, or our progenitors before us. They are beasts, we say; and can we, without compassion, behold men transformed into beasts? We have the light of grace, they have scarce the dim light of nature; we have fellowship with God, they have scarce heard of Him; we are translated into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, they are bonded slaves of Satan. Who hath made us to differ? How long shall we scorn what we should commiserate? What if God should show mercy unto them, erect a church among them, recover them out of the power of the Devil; could any conquest be so glorious? Would we not glorify God and rejoice with all our souls, as the believing Jews did in the Gentiles' conversion? How can we refuse to further the prosecuting of that which would be our glory and joy if it were effected?

Fourthly, no man desireth to do as Samson, to pluck away the pillars on which the house leaneth. This work craves no counsellor of state, no peer of the land; nay, perhaps, no person employed at present in any place of government, private men whom the state we conceive needs not, because it employs not, may serve the turn. Suppose it should borrow some men of more special use, and return them home, as men from their travels, improved not so much by sights as experience, after the affairs of the colony were settled, what loss were it, in lieu of so great a gain?

Lastly, if we spare men for the advancing of God's honor, men that do us service that they may attend God's service, we have as much reason to expect the supply of our loss as the repairing of our estates, out of which we spare a portion for our brethren's necessities, or the advancing of God's worship, by the blessing of God according to His promise.

The portion of "The Planters' Plea" printed in the preceding pages constitutes chapters 2-5 of that pamphlet. In chapter 7 occurs the following statement of the purposes of the planters. This statement is followed in the pamphlet by the brief outline of the history of the early colonizing efforts in Massachusetts which is reprinted in Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts.

I should be very unwilling to hide anything I think might be fit to discover the uttermost of the intentions of our planters in their voyage to New England, and therefore shall make bold to manifest not only what I know, but what I guess concerning their purpose. As it were absurd to conceive they have all one mind, so were it more ridiculous to imagine they have all one scope. Necessity may press some; novelty draw on others; hopes of gain in time to come may prevail with a third sort; but that the most, and most sincere and godly part, have the advancement of the gospel for their main scope, I am confident. That of them, some may entertain hope and expectation of enjoying greater liberty there than here in the use of some orders and ceremonies of our church, it seems very probable. Nay, more than that, it is not improbable that, partly for their sakes, and partly for respect to some Germans that are gone over with them, and more that intend to follow after, even those which otherwise would not much desire innovation of themselves, yet for the maintaining of peace and unity (the only solder of a weak, unsettled body) will be won to consent to some variation from the forms and customs of our church. Nay, I see not how we can expect from them a correspondence in all things to our state, civil or ecclesiastical. Wants and necessities cannot but cause many changes. The churches in the apostles' and in the settled times of peace afterwards were much different in many outward forms. In the main, of their carriage two things may move them to vary much from us: respect to the heathen, before whom it concerns them to show much piety, sobriety, and austerity, and the consideration of their own necessities, will certainly enforce them to take away many things that we admit, and to introduce many things that we reject, which, perhaps, will minister much matter of sport and scorn unto such as have relations of these things, and that represented unto them with such additions as fame usually weaves into all reports at the second and third hands. The like, by this their varying in civil conversation, we may expect of the alteration of some things in church affairs. It was

bootless to expect that all things will or can be at the first forming of a rude and incoherent body, as they may be found in time to come; and it were strange and a thing that never yet happened, if we should hear a true report of all things as they are. But that men are far enough from projecting the erecting of this colony for a nursery of schismatics will appear by the ensuing faithful and impartial narration of the first occasions, beginning, and progress of the whole work, laid before the eyes of all that desire to receive satisfaction, by such as have been privy to the very first conceiving and contriving of this project of planting this colony; and to the several passages that have happened since, who also, in that they relate, consider they have the searcher of all hearts and observer of all men's ways witness of the truth and falsehood that they deliver.

John White, the author of "The Planters' Plea," was born at Stanton, St. John, Oxfordshire, in 1575 (baptized January 6). He was a kinsman of Bishop John White, whom Queen Elizabeth deprived of the see of Winchester on account of his Romanizing tendencies. His elder brother, Josias, rector of Horchurch in Essex, was father of James White, who became a wealthy merchant of Boston, Mass. John White was educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford; and in 1606 he was appointed rector of Holy Trinity, at Dorchester, in Dorset, remaining identified with that place for the rest of his long life, and becoming known as "the Patriarch of Dorchester." His influence upon the moral life of the town was profound. Fuller says that the inhabitants were much enriched by him, "for knowledge caused piety, and piety bred industry, so that a beggar was not to be seen in the town. All the able poor were set on work, and the impotent maintained by the profit of a public brew-house and other collections." "He had," says Fuller, "perfect control of two things, his own passions and his parishioners' purses," which latter he drew upon for his philanthropic ends.

White belonged to the Puritan party in the Church of England; and he became deeply interested in American colonization. As early as 1624 he interested himself in sending out a colony of Dorset men to Massachusetts; but this enterprise, which led to the settlement at Cape Ann, joined by Roger Conant, miscarried. But White was not discouraged. No man was more influential in forming the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He has been properly called "the father of the Massachusetts Colony." John Endicott, the governor of the company coming to Salem in 1629, was a Dorchester man; and Higginson and Skelton were selected and approved by White as the colony's ministers. There is good reason for believing that he wrote the farewell letter of Winthrop's company to their brethren of the Church of England as they sailed for New England. "The Planters' Plea" was printed in London in 1630, just after the sailing of Winthrop's fleet. "The ensuing faithful and impartial narrative of the first occasions, beginning and progress of the whole work is laid before the eyes of all that desire to receive satisfaction, by such as have been privy to the very first conceiving and contriving of this project of planting this colony." The pamphlet contains the earliest trustworthy information on the planting of the colony. It was published anonymously, but White's authorship is undoubted. "Mr. White, of Dorchester, author," Increase Mather wrote on the title-page of his copy; and his father was Richard Mather, who came over in 1635, and became minister of the church in Dorchester, Mass., in whose organization in England John White had been so deeply interested. White went to Plymouth, England, to bid farewell to the congregation sailing thence for Dorchester, Mass., in the "Mary and John," in 1630, and preached to them on their solemn day of fasting and prayer, when they chose Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick to be their ministers. He corresponded with Winthrop after the founding of Boston, Winthrop urging him to visit the colony. In a letter from him to Winthrop in 1636 occurs the following passage, reminding us of the passage on liberty in Winthrop's famous "Little Speech" in 1645: "I know it will be pretended that all manner of restraint is prejudicial to liberty, and I grant the name of liberty is precious, *so it be liberty to do good,—but no farther.*"

Anthony Wood says of White: "He was for the most part of his time a moderate Puritan, and conformed to the ceremonies of the Church of England before and when Archbishop Laud sat at the stem." When the Civil War broke out, he sided with Parliament; and his house and library were plundered by the Royalists under Prince Rupert. He came to London, ministered at the Savoy, and then was made rector of Lambeth. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly of divines, and at their opening service in St. Margaret's (Sept. 25, 1643) prayed a full hour, to prepare them for taking the covenant. In 1647 he was offered the position of warden of New College, but declined to go to Oxford, being "sick and infirm, a dying man." He died July 21, 1648, probably at Dorchester, and was buried in the porch of St. Peter's Chapel (belonging to Holy Trinity), where a tablet has recently been placed in his memory.

Besides "The Planters' Plea" and a few sermons and short treatises, White was the author of "A Way to the Tree of Life: Sundry Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Scriptures"; "David's Psalms in Metre, agreeable to the Hebrew. To be sung in usuall Tunes to the benefit of the churches of Christ;" and "A Commentary upon the Three First Chapters of the First Book of Moses called Genesis." See the article on John White, in the Dictionary of National Biography, with list of books containing references to him. See sections relating to White in the various histories of New England, Massachusetts, and Dorchester; Everett's oration on "Dorchester in 1630, 1776, and 1855" (Orations, iii.); and Rev. Samuel J. Barrows's historical discourse at the celebration in 1880 of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Dorchester church. John White's "Instructions for the Plantation of New England" is printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1865. "The Planters' Plea" was reprinted in Force's Collection of Tracts. The portion near the end giving the history of the planting of the Massachusetts Colony was reprinted in Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, with useful notes; and the whole was reprinted in 1898 among the American Colonial Tracts. The work is in ten chapters, of which chapters 2-5 are given in the present leaflet.

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Captain Thomas Wheeler's Nar- rative. 1675.

A TRUE NARRATIVE OF THE LORD'S PROVIDENCES IN VARIOUS DISPENSATIONS TOWARDS CAPTAIN EDWARD HUTCHINSON OF BOSTON AND MY SELF, AND THOSE THAT WENT WITH US INTO THE NIPMUCK COUNTRY, AND ALSO TO QUABAUG, ALIAS BROOKFIELD: THE SAID CAPTAIN HUTCHINSON HAVING A COMMISSION FROM THE HONOURED COUNCIL OF THIS COLONY TO TREAT WITH SEVERAL SACHEMS IN THOSE PARTS IN ORDER TO THE PUBLICK PEACE, AND MY SELF BEING ALSO ORDERED BY THE SAID COUNCIL TO ACCOMPANY HIM WITH PART OF MY TROOP FOR SECURITY FROM ANY DANGER THAT MIGHT BE FROM THE INDIANS: AND TO ASSIST HIM IN THE TRANSACTION OF MATTERS COMMITTED TO HIM.

The said Captain Hutchinson, and myself, with about twenty men or more marched from Cambridge to Sudbury, July 28, 1675; and from thence into the Nipmuck Country, and finding that the Indians had deserted their towns, and we having gone until we came within two miles of New Norwitch, on July 31, (only we saw two Indians having an horse with them, whom we would have spoke with, but they fled from us and left their horse, which we took), we then thought it not expedient to march any further that way, but set our march for Brookfield, whither we came on the Lord's day about noon. From thence the same day, (being August 1,) we understanding that the Indians were about ten miles north west from us, we sent out four men to acquaint the Indians that we were not come to harm them, but our business was only to deliver a Message from our Honoured Governour and Council to them, and to receive their answer, we desiring to come to a Treaty of Peace with them, (though they had for

several dayes fled from us,) they having before professed friendship, and promised fidelity to the English. When the messengers came to them they made an alarm, and gathered together about an hundred and fifty fighting men as near as they could judge. The young men amongst them were *stout* in their speeches, and surly in their carriage. But at length some of the chief Sachems promised to meet us on the next morning about 8 of the clock upon a plain within three miles of Brookfield, with which answer the messengers returned to us. Whereupon, though their speeches and carriage did much discourage divers of our company, yet we conceived that we had a cleer call to go to meet them at the place whither they had promised to come. Accordingly we with our men accompanied with three of the principal inhabitants of that-town marched to the plain appointed; but the treacherous heathen intending mischief, (if they could have opportunity), came not to the said place, and so failed our hopes of speaking with them there. Whereupon the said Captain Hutchinson* and my self, with the rest of our company, considered what was best to be done, whether we should go any further towards them or return, divers of us apprehending much danger in case we did proceed, because the Indians kept not promise there with us. But the three men who belonged to Brookfield were so strongly perswaded of their freedome from any ill intentions towards us, (as upon other bounds, so especially because the greatest part of those Indians belonged to David, one of their chief Sachems, who was taken to be a great friend to the English:) that the said Captain Hutchinson who was principally intrusted with the matter of Treaty with them, was thereby encouraged to proceed and march forward towards a Swampe

*[Capt. Hutchinson had a very considerable farm in the Nipmug country, and had occasion to employ several of the Nipmug sachem's men in tilling and ploughing the ground, and thereby was known to the face of many of them. The sachems sent word that they would speak with none but Capt. Hutchinson himself, and appointed a meeting at such a tree and such a time. The guide that conducted him and those that were with him through the woods brought them to a swamp [as stated in the Narrative] not far off the appointed place, out of which those Indians ran all at once and killed sixteen [but 8, as in Narrative] men, and wounded several others, of which wounds Capt. Hutchinson afterwards died, whose death is the more lamented in that his mother and several others of his relations died by the hands of the Indians, now above 30 years since. *Ms. Letter sent to London, dated Nov. 10, 1675, as quoted by Gov. Hutchinson, I. 266.*

Capt. Hutchinson belonged to Boston and had been one of its representatives, and considerably in publick life. He was son of William and the celebrated ANN Hutchinson, and was brother-in-law to Major Thomas Savage, of Boston, who married Faith, the sister of Capt. H. He was the father of the Hon. Elisha Hutchinson, one of the Counsellors of Massachusetts, who died 10 December, 1717, aged 77. The last was father of Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, born 30 January, 1674; died 3 December, 1739, whose son, Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, born 9 September, 1711, was the celebrated historian of Massachusetts. *I Savage's Winthrop, 246.* It is a little singular that the Gov. should not have met with a Narrative so particular respecting the fate of his great ancestor.]

where the Indians then were. When we came near the said swampe, the way was so very bad that we could march only in a single file, there being a very rocky hill on the right hand, and a thick swampe on the left. In which there were many of those cruel blood-thirsty heathen, who there way laid us, waiting an opportunity to cut us off; there being also much brush on the side of the said hill, where they lay in ambush to surprize us.* When we had marched there about sixty or seventy rods, the said perfidious Indians sent out their shot upon us as a showre of haile, they being, (as was supposed,) about two hundred men or more. We seeing our selves so beset, and not having room to fight, endeavoured to fly for the safety of our lives. In which flight we were in no small danger to be all cut off, there being a very miry swamp before us, into which we could not enter with our horses to go forwards, and there being no safety in retreating the way we came, because many of our company, who lay behind the bushes, and had let us pass by them quietly; when others had shot, they came out, and stopt our way back, so that we were forced as we could to get up the steep and rocky hill; but the greater our danger was, the greater was God's mercy in the preservation of so many of us from sudden destruction. My self being gone up part of the hill without any hurt, and perceiving some of my men to be fallen by the enemies' shot, I wheeled about upon the Indians, not calling on my men who were left to accompany me, which they in all probability would have done had they known of my return upon the enemy. They firing violently out of the swamp, and from behind the bushes on the hill side wounded me sorely, and shot my horse under me, so that he faulting and falling, I was forced to leave him, divers of the Indians being then but a few rods distant from me. My son Thomas Wheeler flying with the rest of the company, missed me amongst them, and fearing that I was either slain or much endangered, returned towards the swampe again, though he had then received a dangerous wound in the reins, where he saw in me the danger afore-said. Whereupon, he endeavoured to rescue me, shewing himself therein a loving and dutiful son, he adventuring himself

*[It seems from a note in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, that the Indians took a prisoner of the name of George, a christian Indian, who afterwards reported that Philip and his company of about 40 men, besides women and children, joined the Nipmuck Indians in a swamp, ten or twelve miles from Brookfield on the 5th of August. "The Indians told Philip, at his first coming, what they had done to the English at Quabaog: Then he presented and gave to three sagamores, viz. John alias Apequinash, Quanansit, and Mawtamps, to each of them about a peck of unstrung wampum, which they accepted." Philip was conducted to the swamp by two Indians, one of whom was Caleb of Tatumasket, beyond Mendon.]

into great peril of his life to help me in that distress, there being many of the enemies about me, my son set me on his own horse, and so escaped a while on foot himself, until he caught an horse whose rider was slain, on which he mounted, and so through God's great mercy we both escaped. But in this attempt for my deliverance he received another dangerous wound by their shot in his left arm. There were then slain to our great grief eight men, viz.—Zechariah Philips of Boston, Timothy Farlow,* of Billericay, Edward Coleborn, of Chelmsford, Samuel Smedly, of Concord, Sydrach Hopgood, of Sudbury, Serjeant Eyres,† Serjeant Prichard,‡ and Corporal Coy,§ the inhabitants of Brookfield aforesaid. It being the good pleasure of God, that they should all there fall by their hands, of whose good intentions they were so confident, and whom they so little mistrusted. There were also then five persons wounded, viz.—Captain Hutchinson, my self, and my son Thomas, as aforesaid, Corporal French,|| of Billericay, who having killed an Indian, was (as he was taking up his gun) shot, and part of one of his thumbs taken off, and also dangerously wounded through the body near the shoulder; the fifth was John Waldoe, of Chelmsford, who was not so dangerously wounded as the rest. They also then killed five of our horses, and wounded some more, which soon died after they came to Brookfield. Upon this sudden and unexpected blow given us, (wherein we desire to look higher than man the instrument,) we returned to the town as fast as the badness of the way, and the weakness of our wounded men would permit, we being then ten miles from it. All the while we were going, we durst not stay to stanch the bleeding of our wounded men, for fear the enemy should have surprized us again, which they attempted to do, and had in probability done, but that we perceiving which way they went, wheeled off to the other hand, and so by God's good providence towards us, they missed us, and we all came readily upon, and safely to the town, though none of us knew the way to it, those of the place being slain, as aforesaid, and we avoiding any thick woods and riding in open places to prevent danger by them. Being got to the town, we speedily betook our selves to one of the largest and strongest houses therein, where

*[Timothy Farley was son of George Farley, one of the first settlers of Billerica.]

[† John Ayres.

‡ Joseph Pritchard.

§ John Coye.]

|| [Corporal John French was son of Lieut. William French of Billerica. He went from Cambridge with his father to Billerica, about 1654, and lived there until his death in October, 1712, aged about 78.]

we fortified our selves in the best manner we could in such straits of time, and there resolved to keep garrison, though we were but few, and meanly fitted to make resistance against so furious enemies. The news of the Indians' treacherous dealing with us, and the loss of so many of our company thereby, did so amaze the inhabitants of the town, that they being informed thereof by us, presently left their houses, divers of them carrying very little away with them, they being afraid of the Indians sudden coming upon them; and so came to the house we were entered into, very meanly provided of cloathing, or furnished with provisions.

I perceiving my self to be disenabled for the discharge of the duties of my place by reason of the wound I had received, and apprehending that the enemy would soon come to spoyle the town, and assault us in the house, I appointed Simon Davis, of Concord, James Richardson,* and John Fiske,† of Chelmsford, to manage affairs for our safety with those few men whom God hath left us, and were fit for any service, and the inhabitants of the said town; who did well and commendably perform the duties of the trust committed to them with much courage and resolution through the assistance of our gracious God, who did not leave us in our low and distressed state, but did mercifully appear for us in our greatest need, as in the sequel will clearly be manifested. Within two hours after our coming to the said house, or less, the said Captain Hutchinson and my self posted away Ephraim Curtis, of Sudbury, and Henry Young, of Concord, to go to the Honoured Council at Boston, to give them an account of the Lord's dealing with us, and our present condition. When they came to the further end of the town they saw the enemy rifling of houses which the inhabitants had forsaken. The post fired upon them, and immediately returned to us again, they discerning no safety in going forward and being desirous to inform us of the enemies' actings, that we might the more prepare for a sudden assault by them. Which indeed presently followed, for as soon as the said post was come back to us, the barbarous heathen pressed upon us in the house with great violence, sending in their shot amongst us like haile through the

*[James Richardson is supposed to have been brother to Capt. Josiah Richardson, of Chelmsford, who died 22 July, 1695, the ancestor of the Hon. Judge Richardson, of Chester. He went from Woburn, the hive from which issued most of the Richardsons, to Chelmsford, in 166-. The first Richardson who came to the Massachusetts colony was Ezekiel Richardson, who was made a freeman, in May, 1631, and was afterwards a deputy of the General Court. Samuel and Thomas were made freemen, 2 May, 1638, and they settled in Woburn, as did also, it is believed, Ezekiel, though not upon his first coming here.]

† [John Fiske was son of the Rev. John Fiske, first minister of Chelmsford.]

walls, and shouting as if they would have swallowed us up alive; but our good God wrought wonderfully for us, so that there was but one man wounded within the house, viz.—the said Henry Young, who, looking out of the garret window that evening, was mortally wounded by a shot, of which wound he died within two dayes after. There was the same day another man slain, but not in the house; a son of Serjeant Prichard's adventuring out of the house wherein we were, to his Father's house not far from it, to fetch more goods out of it, was caught by those cruel enemies as they were coming towards us, who cut off his head, kicking it about like a foot-ball, and then putting it upon a pole, they set it up before the door of his Father's house in our sight.

The night following the said blow, they did roar against us like so many wild bulls, sending in their shot amongst us till towards the moon rising, which was about three of the clock; at which time they attempted to fire our house by hay and other combustible matter which they brought to one corner of the house, and set it on fire. Whereupon some of our company were necessitated to expose themselves to very great danger to put it out. Simon Davis, one of the three appointed by my self as Captain, to supply my place by reason of my wounds, as aforesaid, he being of a lively spirit, encouraged the souldiers within the house to fire upon the Indians; and also those that adventured out to put out the fire, (which began to rage and kindle upon the house side,) with these and the like words, that *God is with us, and fights for us, and will deliver us out of the hands of these heathen;* which expressions of his the Indians hearing, they shouted and scoffed, saying: *now see how your God delivers you, or will deliver you,* sending in many shots whilst our men were putting out the fire. But the Lord of hosts wrought very graciously for us, in preserving our bodies both within and without the house from their shot, and our house from being consumed by fire, we had but two men wounded in that attempt of theirs, but we apprehended that we killed divers of our enemies. I being desirous to hasten intelligence to the Honoured Council of our present great distress, we being so remote from any succour, (it being between sixty and seventy miles from us to Boston, where the Council useth to sit) and fearing our ammunition would not last long to withstand them, if they continued so to assault us, I spake to Ephraim Curtis to adventure forth again on that service, and to attempt it on foot, as the way wherein there was most hope of getting away undiscovered; he readily assented, and accordingly

went out, but there were so many Indians every where thereabout, that he could not pass, without apparent hazard of life, so he came back again, but towards morning the said Ephraim adventured forth the third time, and was fain to creep on his hands and knees for some space of ground, that he might not be discerned by the enemy, who waited to prevent our sending if they could have hindered it. But through God's mercy he escaped their hands, and got safely to Marlborough, though very much spent, and ready to faint by reason of want of sleep before he went from us, and his sore travel night and day in that hot season till he got thither, from whence he went to Boston; yet before the said Ephraim got to Marlborough, there was intelligence brought thither of the burning of some houses, and killing some cattel at Quabaug, by some who were going to Connecticut, but they seeing what was done at the end of the town, and hearing several guns shot off further within the town, they durst proceed no further, but immediately returned to Marlborough, though they then knew not what had befallen Captain Hutchinson and myself, and company, nor of our being there, but that timely intelligence they gave before Ephraim Curtis his coming to Marlborough, occasioned the Honoured Major Willards turning his march towards Quabaug, for their relief, who were in no small danger every hour of being destroyed; the said Major being, when he had that intelligence, upon his march another way as he was ordered by the honoured council, as is afterwards more fully expressed.

The next day being August 3d, they continued shooting and shouting, and proceeded in their former wickedness, blaspheming the name of the Lord, and reproaching us, his afflicted servants, scoffing at our prayers as they were sending in their shot upon all quarters of the house and many of them went to the town's meeting house, (which was within twenty rods of the house in which we were) who mocked saying, come and pray, and sing psalms, and in contempt made an hideous noise somewhat resembling singing. But we, to our power, did endeavour our own defence, sending our shot amongst them, the Lord giving us courage to resist them, and preserving us from the destruction they sought to bring upon us. On the evening following, we saw our enemies carrying several of their dead or wounded men on their backs, who proceeded that night to send in their shot, as they had done the night before, and also still shouted as if the day had been certainly theirs, and they should without fail, have

prevailed against us, which they might have the more hopes of in regard that we discerned the coming of new companies to them to assist and strengthen them, and the unlikelihood of any coming to our help. They also used several stratagems to fire us, namely, by wild fire in cotton and linnen rags with brimstone in them, which rags they tyed to the piles of their arrows, sharp for the purpose, and shot them to the roof of our house, after they had set them on fire, which would have much endangered the burning thereof, had we not used means by cutting holes through the roof, and otherwise, to beat the said arrows down, and God being pleased to prosper our endeavours therein.—They carryed more combustible matter, as flax and hay, to the sides of the house, and set it on fire, and then flocked apace towards the door of the house, either to prevent our going forth to quench the fire, as we had done before, or to kill our men in their attempt to go forth, or else to break into the house by the door; whereupon we were forced to break down the wall of the house against the fire to put it out. They also shot a ball of wild fire into the garret of the house, which fell amongst a great heap of flax or tow therein, which one of our souldiers, through God's good Providence soon espyed, and having water ready presently quenched it; and so we were preserved by the keeper of Israel, both our bodies from their shot, which they sent thick against us, and the house from being consumed to ashes, although we were but weak to defend our selves, we being not above twenty and six men with those of that small town, who were able for any service, and our enemies, as I judged them about, (if not above,) three hundred, I speak of the least, for many there present did guess them to be four or five hundred. It is the more to be observed, that so little hurt should be done by the enemies' shot, it commonly piercing the walls of the house, and flying amongst the people, and there being in the house fifty women and children besides the men before mentioned. But abroad in the yard, one Thomas Wilson of that town, being sent to fetch water for our help in further need, (that which we had being spent in putting out the fire,) was shot by the enemy in the upper jaw and in the neck, the anguish of which wound was such at the first that he cried out with a great noise, by reason whereof the Indians hearing him rejoiced and triumphed at it; but his wound was healed in a short time, praised be God.

On Wednesday, August the 4th, the Indians fortified themselves at the meeting house, and the barne, belonging to our

house, which they fortified both at the great doors, and at both ends, with posts, rails, boards, and hay, to save themselves from our shot. They also devised other stratagems, to fire our house, on the night following, namely, they took a cart, and filled it with flax, hay and candle-wood, and other combustible matter, and set up planks, fastened to the cart, to save themselves from the danger of our shot. Another invention they had to make the more sure work in burning the house. They got many poles of a considerable length and bigness, and spliced them together at the ends one of another, and made a carriage of them about fourteen rods long, setting the poles in two rows with peils laid cross over them at the front end, and dividing them said poles about three foot asunder, and in the said front of this their carriage they set a barrel, having made an hole through both heads, and put an axle-tree through them, to which they fastened the said poles, and under every joynt of the poles where they were spliced, they set up a pair of truckle wheeles to bear up the said carriages, and they loaded the front or fore-end thereof with matter fit for firing, as hay, and flaxe, and chips, &c. Two of these instruments they prepared, that they might convey fire to the house, with the more safety to themselves, they standing at such a distance from our shot, whilst they wheeled them to the house: great store of arrows they had also prepared to shoot fire upon the house that night; which we found after they were gone, they having left them there. But the Lord who is a present help in times of trouble, and is pleased to make his people's extremity his opportunity, did graciously prevent them of effecting what they hoped they should have done by the afore-said devices, partly by sending a showre of rain in season, whereby the matter prepared being wett would not so easily take fire as it otherwise would have done, and partly by aide coming to our help. For our danger would have been very great that night, had not the only wise God (blessed for ever) been pleased to send to us about an hour within night the worshipful Major Willard with Captain Parker of Groaton, and forty-six men more with five Indians to relieve us in the low estate into which we were brought; our eyes were unto him the holy one of Israel; in him we desired to place our trust, hoping that he would in the time of our great need appear for our deliverance, and confound all their plots by which they thought themselves most sure to prevail against us; and God who comforteth the afflicted, as he comforted the holy apostle Paul by the coming of Titus to him, so

he greatly comforted us his distressed servants both souldiers and town inhabitants, by the coming of the said honoured Major, and those with him. In whose so soon coming to us the good providence of God did marvellously appear; for the help that came to us by the honoured council's order (after the tydings they received by our post sent to them) came not to us till Saturday, August 7, in the afternoon, nor sooner could it well come in regard of their distance from us, *i.e.* if we had not had help before that time, we see not how we could have held out, the number of the Indians so encreasing, and they making so many assaults upon us, that our ammunition before that time would have been spent, and ourselves disenabled for any resistance; we being but few, and alwaies fain to stand upon our defence; that we had little time for refreshment of our selves either by food or sleep; the said honoured Major's coming to us so soon was thus occasioned; he had a commission from the honoured council (of which himself was one) to look after some Indians to the westward of Lancaster and Groaton, (where he himself lived) and to secure them, and was upon his march towards them on the foresaid Wednesday in the morning, August 4th, when tydings coming to Marlborough by those that returned thither as they were going to Connecticot, concerning what they saw at Brookfield as aforesaid, some of Marlborough knowing of the said Major's march from Lancaster that morning presently sent a post to acquaint him with the information they had received; the Major was gone before the post came to Lancaster; but there was one speedily sent after him, who overtook him about five or six miles from the said town; he being acquainted, that it was feared, that Brookfield (a small town of about fifteen or sixteen families) was either destroyed, or in great danger thereof, and conceiving it to require more speed to succour them (if they were not past help) than to proceed at present, as he before intended, and being also very desirous (if it were possible) to afford relief to them, (he being then not above thirty miles from them) he immediately altered his course and marched with his company towards us: and came to us about an hour after it was dark as aforesaid; though he knew not then, either of our being there nor of what had befallen us at the swampe and in the house those two days before.

The merciful providence of God also appeared in preventing the danger that the honoured Major and his company might have been in, when they came near us, for those beastly men, our

enemies skilful to destroy, indeavoured to prevent any help from coming to our relief, and therefore sent down sentinels, (some nearer and some further off) the furthest about two miles from us, who if they saw any coming from the bay they might give notice by an alarm. And there were about an hundred of them who for the most part kept at an house some little distance from us, by which if any help came from the said bay, they must pass, and so they intended (as we conceive) having notice by their sentinels of their approach to way-lay them, and if they could, to cut them off before they came to the house where we kept.

But as we probably guess, they were so intent and buisy in preparing their instruments (as abovesaid) for our destruction by fire, that they were not at the house where they used to keep for the purpose aforesaid, and that they heard not their sentinels when they shot; and so the Major's way was clear from danger till he came to our house. And that it was their purpose so to have fallen upon him, or any other coming to us at that house, is the more probable in that (as we have since had intelligence from some of the Indians themselves) there were a party of them at another place who let him pass by them without the least hurt or opposition, waiting for a blow to be given him at the said house, and then they themselves to fall upon them in the reare, as they intended to have done with us at the swamp, in case we had fled back as before expressed. The Major and company were no sooner come to the house, and understood (though at first they knew not they were English who were in the house, but thought that they might be Indians, and therefore were ready to have shot at us, till we discerning they were English by the Major's speaking, I caused the trumpet to be sounded) that the said Captain Hutchinson, myself, and company with the town's inhabitants were there, but the Indians also discerned that there were some come to our assistance, whereupon they spared not their shot, but poured it out on them; but through the Lords goodness, though they stood not farr asunder one from another, they killed not one man, wounded only two of his company; and killed the Major's son's* horse; after that, we within the house perceived

*[It does not appear which of the Major's nine sons is referred to. Of a family which has afforded so many descendants, and some of them highly distinguished, it may be proper to give their names and the times of their births, so far as they have been ascertained after most patient and diligent research.

1. Josiah Willard (no record of his birth has been found). He married Hannah Hosmer in 1657.

2. Simon Willard, born 31st January, 1640.

3. Samuel Willard (the time of his birth has not been ascertained). He married Abigail Sherman, and after her death, Eunice Tyng.

the Indians shooting so at them, we hastened the Major and all his company into the house as fast as we could, and their horses into a little yard before the house, where they wounded five other horses that night; after they were come into the house to us, the enemies continued their shooting some considerable time, so that we may well say, had not the Lord been on our side when these cruel heathens rose up against us, they had then swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us. But wherein they delt proudly, the Lord was above them.

When they saw their divers designs unsuccessful, and their hopes therein disappointed, they then fired the house and barne (wherein they had before kept to lye in wait to surprise any coming to us) that by the light thereof they might the better direct their shot at us, but no hurt was done thereby, praised be the Lord. And not long after they burnt the meeting house wherein their fortifications were, as also the barne, which belonged to our house, and so perceiving more strength come to our assistance, they did, as we suppose, despair of effecting any more mischief against us. And therefore the greatest part of them, towards the breaking of the day, August the fifth, went away and left us, and we were quiet from any further molestations by them; and on that morning we went forth of the house without danger, and so daily afterwards, only one man was wounded about two dayes after, as he went out to look after horses, by some few of them sculking thereabouts. We cannot tell how many of them we killed, in all that time, but one, that afterwards was taken, confessed that there were killed and wounded about eighty men or more.—Blessed be the Lord God of our salvation who kept us from being all a prey to their teeth. But before they went away they burnt all the town except the house we kept in, and another that was not then finished. They also made great spoyle of the cattel belonging to the inhabitants; and after our entrance into the house, and during the time of our confinement there, they either killed or drove away almost all the horses of our company.

We continued there, both well and wounded, towards a fortnight, and August the thirteenth Captain Hutchinson and my

4. Henry Willard, born 4th June, 1655.

5. John Willard, born 12th February, 1657.

6. Daniel Willard, born 26th December, 1658.

7. Joseph Willard, born 4th April, 1660.

8. Benjamin Willard, born (time not ascertained).

9. Jonathan Willard, born 14th December, 1669.

The first six were probably born in Concord, Mass.

The 7th and 9th and perhaps the 8th were born in Lancaster. Further notices of this family may be found in *Farmer & Moore's Collections*, Vol. I.]

self, with the most of those that had escaped without hurt, and also some of the wounded, came from thence; my son Thomas and some other wounded men, came not from thence, being not then able to endure travel so farr as we were from the next town, till about a fortnight after. We came to Marlborough on August the fourteenth, where Captain Hutchinson being not recovered of his wound before his coming from Brookfield and overtired with his long journey, by reason of his weakness, quickly after grew worse, and more dangerously ill, and on the nineteenth day of the said month dyed, and was there the day after buried, the Lord being pleased to deny him a return to his own habitation, and his near relations at Boston, though he was come the greatest part of his journey thitherward. The inhabitants of the town also, not long after, men, women, and children, removed safely with what they had left, to several places, either where they had lived before their planting or sitting down there; or where they had relations to receive and entertain them. The honoured Major Willard stayed at Brookfield some weeks after our coming away, there being several companies of souldiers sent up thither and to Hadly and the towns thereabouts, which are about thirty miles from Brookfield, whither also the Major went for a time upon the service of the country in the present warr, and from whence there being need of his presence for the ordering of matters concerning his own regiment, and the safety of the towns belonging to it, he through God's goodness and mercy, returned in safety and health to his house, and dear relations at Groaton.

Thus I have endeavoured to set down and declare both what the Lord did against us in the loss of several person's lives, and the wounding of others, some of which wounds were very painful in dressing, and long ere they were healed, besides many dangers that we were in, and fears that we were exercised with; and also what great things he was pleased to do for us in frustrating their many attempts, and vouchsafing such a deliverance to us. The Lord avenge the blood that hath been shed by these heathen, who hate us without a cause, though he be most righteous in all that hath befallen there, and in all other parts of the country; he help us to humble ourselves before him, and with our whole hearts, to return to him, and also to improve all his mercies, which we still enjoy, that so his anger may cease towards us and he may be pleased either to make our enemies at peace with us, or more, destroy them before us. I tarried at Marlborough with Captain Hutchinson until his death, and came home to

Concord, August the 21, (though not thoroughly recovered of my wound) and so did others that went with me. But since I am reasonable well, though I have not the use of my hand and arm as before: my son Thomas, though in great hazard of life for some time after his return to Concord, yet is now very well cured, and his strength well restored! Oh that we could praise the Lord for his great goodness towards us. Praised be his name, that though he took away some of us, yet was pleased to spare so many of us, and adde unto our dayes; he help us whose souls he hath delivered from death, and eyes from tears, and feet from falling, to walk before him in the land of the living, till our great change come, and to sanctifie his name in all his ways about us, that both our afflictions, and our mercies may quicken us to live more to his glory all our dayes.*

PASSAGE FROM REV. NATHAN FISKE'S HISTORICAL DISCOURSE ON BROOKFIELD, DECEMBER 31, 1775.

As this town is of ancient date, and, compared with most of the towns in this county, even with the shire-town itself, is like an elder matron amidst a group of youngerly females; and as it has been famous for Indian inhabitants, Indian wars, and Indian barbarities, I have for a considerable time felt a strong inclination and desire to search into its history, to find out its origin, the difficulties and hardships of its first English inhabitants, its gradual increase and progressive improvements. In short, I wished to be acquainted with whatever was curious, entertaining, or instructive in the circumstances of the town, and the transactions or sufferings of its early settlers. With this view I have searched all the histories of the country I could meet with—inquired for manuscripts that might have preserved a circumstantial account of some occurrences which the printed histories are wholly silent about, or give but a general sketch of. I have consulted many of the descendants of the first settlers, and those that have been most acquainted with the affairs of the town. I have perused records, &c. But the result of my inquiries does not wholly satisfy my curiosity or answer my wish. No intelligence is to be obtained concerning some things that have happened; and many circumstances relative to divers events that might have been entertaining at this day, have not been handed down by tradition. Our ancestors were under great disadvantages as to making extensive observations, or keeping exact records, or preserving them for the perusal of posterity. However, I have gleaned a few things relative to the settling and subsequent improvements of this town, which may serve as a clue to trace the conduct of divine Providence, to point out many instances of the divine goodness, to lead our minds to some religious reflections, to excite gratitude in our hearts for the wonderful works which God

*[The 21st October, 1675, was kept by Capt. Wheeler and those who returned with him as a day of praise and thanksgiving to God for their remarkable deliverance and safe return, when Rev. Edward Bulkley, of Concord, preached a sermon to them, from "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?" Psalm cxvi. 12.]

hath done for us and our fathers, to encourage our hope and trust in the same power and goodness to protect and bless us and our posterity, and to engage us to *keep his commandments*.

I cannot find exactly at how early a period the first English settlements began in this town, nor who the persons were that began them. A tribe of Indians were the original inhabitants; nor did they move off before or at the coming of the white people, but both English and Indians lived together in friendship for some time.

These Indians were commonly called Quaboag Indians. Governor Hutchinson in his history says, the Nipnet or Nipmuck Indians ambushed the party that went to treat with them at Meminimisset. I suppose it was in conjunction with the Indians of Quaboag. For these, partaking in the uneasiness and commotion that Philip was endeavoring to excite among all the tribes through the country, and growing somewhat shy of their English neighbors, and taking offence at some damages they had sustained from their cattle, they quitted their lands here just before the war broke out, and went up to Meminimisset, and assisted in the ambuscade and in burning Brookfield. After which they returned no more, unless for mischief, but scattered among other Indians till they were no more distinguished or known. From a similarity in divers words in their language, it is probable they intermixed with the Stockbridge Indians.

It is certain there were English inhabitants here many years before there were any between this place and Marlborough on the east, Connecticut River on the west, and Canada on the north.

In the year 1660, *i.e.*, forty years after the first settlement of Plymouth, several of the inhabitants of Ipswich petitioned the Great and General Court for a grant of land in these parts. The Court granted them six miles square, or so much land as should be contained in such a compass, near Quaboag Pond, upon certain conditions, "provided they have twenty families there resident within three years, and that they have an able minister settled there within the said term, such as this court shall approve; and that they make due provision in some way or other for the future, either by setting apart of lands or what else shall be thought mete for the continuance of the ministry among them." I insert this, principally as a specimen of the pious principles that actuated our ancestors, and the care which the legislative body took that new settlements should have the gospel and the administration of the ordinances among them, as early, as statedly, and as regularly as possible. And no doubt it is owing to this care, under Providence, that the country flourished so greatly both in spirituals and temporals; for it hath been often observed that no people was ever the poorer, but on the contrary flourished the faster, for maintaining the gospel ministry among them. And it is undoubtedly owing to the wise and pious provision of our laws and civil establishment, obliging parishes to settle and support evangelical and learned ministers, that the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Hampshire are so much better instructed in the things of religion, and are so much more remarkable for the strict observation of the Sabbath, and for good morals than those of most of the other colonies.

This was the legal origin of the town. These men, that they might have a *just and equitable* as well as a *legal* right to the land, purchased it of the natives, who claimed and possessed it, and it was conveyed to them by deed. It is somewhat probable there were small beginnings made here by the English before this grant. But this is not material. It is certain that from

small and early beginnings the settlement increased, even under the disadvantages and discouragements of that day, so that upon application made to the General Court in the year 1673 the inhabitants were incorporated into a township by the name of Brookfield. And in the year 1675, when the town was burnt, they had at least twenty families, a meeting-house, and preaching, though no settled minister.

Captain Wheeler's Narrative is here reprinted from the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, II., 1827; and the notes there added are given at the foot of the preceding pages. The preliminary note is as follows: "The following Narrative is very scarce, and must have been so when Governor Hutchinson wrote his History of Massachusetts, as it does not appear, in giving an account of the expedition (History of Massachusetts, Vol. I. 265) in which his ancestor sustained such an important part and lost his life, that the historian has made any reference whatever to Captain Wheeler's Narrative, which he would most likely have done, had he known of its existence. The following is printed from a copy which appears to have belonged to Deputy Governor Danforth of Cambridge, and which has been obligingly furnished the Publishing Committee by a Gentleman of Salem, Mass., who is known for his very minute and thorough researches in the early history of our country. A few notes have been handed the Committee by a member of the Society."

Captain Wheeler's Narrative is a valuable record of one of the most tragical episodes in King Philip's War, and well illustrates the hardships and dangers under which the settlement of Massachusetts was pushed from Boston and the coast back to the Connecticut. On the last day of the year 1775 the Rev. Nathan Fiske, D.D., pastor of the Third Church in Brookfield, delivered an historical discourse, in which he gave an account of the settlement of the town and its distresses during the Indian wars. The principal portions of this address—which was published by Thomas and John Fleet, Boston, 1776—were printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I., 1792. The opening pages of this, covering the early history of the town up to the time of the events described in Captain Wheeler's Narrative, are printed above. Dr. Fiske's account of these latter events is taken chiefly from Governor Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. There is printed in the same volume of the Historical Society's Collections a description of the town of Brookfield, by Dr. Fiske.

In 1828, Rev. Joseph I. Foot gave an historical discourse covering the early history of Brookfield; and in the second edition of this, 1843, Wheeler's Narrative and other interesting material were included. The oration by Rev. Lyman Whiting, D.D., at the celebration in 1860 of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Brookfield, is an important address. In the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October, 1887, are two papers of special value: one by Rev. Grindall Reynolds, on "King Philip's War, with special reference to the Attack on Brookfield in August, 1675"; the other by Lucius R. Page, on "Wheeler's Defeat, 1675: Where?" There now exists a flourishing Quabog Historical Society, drawing its members from the several towns made up from the ancient Brookfield; and the studies which it has prompted have high worth.

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Lexington Town Meetings from 1765 to 1775.

FROM HUDSON'S HISTORY OF LEXINGTON, EMBODYING THE
RESOLUTIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS OF THE TOWN MEETINGS.

The bloody contest with the French and Indians was over. Canada was conquered, and the domain of North America was secured to England. The stern Puritans, who had served so heroically—and we may add prayerfully—in the cause, and who had given success to the arms of Great Britain, were filled with rejoicing. They had proved their devotion to the crown, and had contributed largely to the extension of His Majesty's possessions in North America, and, by so doing, had secured to themselves the great blessing of enjoying undisturbed the freedom of Congregational worship. They also flattered themselves that the king they had served, the country whose interest they had promoted, and the ministry whose administration they had contributed to make illustrious would gratefully remember the services rendered, and treat their faithful colonists, not only with justice, but with generosity.

In this general expectation the good people of Lexington participated. They had experienced the dangers, encountered the hardships, and felt the exhaustion of the war; and they needed repose. Lexington, according to her population, had furnished a large number of men. Her citizens who had rendered distinguished service to their king and country had returned to their homes and families, to engage in their industrial pursuits, to render their families more comfortable, and to retrieve their

ruined fortunes, and by their manly exertion and strict frugality to bear their share of the taxes incident to the war, and at the same time contribute to the maintenance of civil and religious institutions in their native town. Industry revived in the place, and the people were exerting themselves to improve their highways, and increase the facilities for the education of their children, and thus promote the prosperity of the town. But these dreams of peace and prosperity were disturbed by intimations that the ministry they had served with so much fidelity, and in whose cause they had cheerfully made such sacrifices, instead of requiting these favors with kindness, were meditating a system of unjust exaction and servitude, greater than anything to which the colonists had ever before been subjected.

In fact, while the colonists were freely pouring out their blood and treasure in support of the crown and His Majesty's possessions in America, the ministry were meditating a plan by which the colonists should not only support their own government, but contribute to the maintenance of that power which had oppressed them. This was to be done by enlarging the prerogatives of the home government at the expense of the colonial charters. These contemplated encroachments were looked upon by the people of Massachusetts with peculiar jealousy, and by none more than by the people of Lexington. . . . Their proximity to the town of Boston, against which British tyranny seemed, from the first, to be mainly directed, made them alive to everything which tended to impair the prosperity of their principal market. . . . The men who had fought as faithful English subjects in defence of English institutions, and also to acquire a larger domain for the crown, felt that they were entitled to the rights of English subjects. They had paid too dearly for their homes and firesides to be willing to have them invaded by the nation they had served. The military experience they had had, and the knowledge of arms they had acquired, gave them confidence in their own strength, so that they were not to be intimidated by any threat of enforcing oppressive laws at the point of the bayonet.

There was another general cause in operation in the colonies to make the people jealous of their rights, and awake to the spirit of liberty. The clergy in those days exercised a controlling influence in their respective parishes. In most of the country towns the minister was the only educated man in the place, and consequently was consulted on all great questions more frequently than any other individual. And, as the great theme of that day

was that of religious freedom, the clergy were almost uniformly found on the side of liberty. They knew that religious and civil rights were so nearly allied, that they must stand or fall together. They had taught the necessity of resisting oppression during the French war. The voice of the clergy at that period was on the side of defending our rights at every hazard. "An injured and oppressed people, whose destruction and overthrow is aimed at by unreasonable men, ought, surely, to stand upon their defence, and not tamely submit to their incursions and violence."* Such was the feeling of that day. It pervaded the whole community in a greater or less degree. But in no town was this doctrine inculcated with more force or fidelity than in Lexington. Their clergyman, the Rev. Jonas Clarke, was a man of decided ability, who was capable of comprehending the whole subject in all its bearings, of showing the intimate connection between civil and religious liberty, and of enforcing the high and important duty of fidelity to God, by maintaining the liberties of the people. He not only sympathized with his brethren generally on these subjects, and acted in harmony with them in inculcating the duty of patriotism, but in everything pertaining to human rights, and the sacred obligation to maintain them, he was one who took the lead. . . .

In March, 1765, the first of a series of measures for taxing the colonies passed the British Parliament, and soon after received the sanction of the crown. This roused the just indignation of the American people.

On the 21st of October, 1765, a town meeting was held in Lexington, to see what Instructions the town would give in relation to the Stamp Act. The subject was referred to the selectmen, consisting of James Stone, Thaddeus Bowman, Robert Harrington, Benjamin Brown, and Samuel Stone, Jr., for their consideration, who, being duly prepared, submitted at once a draft of Instructions. It is but justice to the memory of Mr. Clarke to say that this paper, as well as several other able papers recorded in our town book, were from his pen. The committee who reported them, though undoubtedly sensible and patriotic men, laid no claim to that finished scholarship which characterizes this and the other papers to which reference is made. There is internal evidence of their authorship, and it has ever been conceded that they were written by Mr. Clarke; and, as further evidence of the fact, I have now before me the original draft of

* Fast Sermon of Mr. Maccarty, of Worcester, 1759.

one of these papers in Mr. Clarke's own handwriting. The instructions are so fraught with wisdom, so patriotic in their doctrines, and reflect so fully the sentiments of the people of the town who adopted them unanimously, that I will give them in full.

To William Reed, Esq., the present Representative of Lexington:

Sir,—We have looked upon men as beings naturally free. And it is a truth which the history of ages and the common experience of mankind have fully confirmed that a people can never be divested of these invaluable rights and liberties, which are necessary to the happiness of individuals, to the well-being of communities, or to a well-regulated state, but by their own negligence, imprudence, timidity, or rashness. They are seldom lost but when foolishly forfeited or tamely resigned.

And therefore, when we consider the invaluable rights and liberties we now possess, the firmness and resolution of our fathers for the support and preservation of them for us, and how much we owe to ourselves and to posterity, we cannot but look upon it as an unpardonable neglect any longer to delay expressing how deeply we are concerned in some measures adopted by the late ministry, and how much we fear from some acts lately passed in the British Parliament, which appear to us not only distressing to the trade and commerce of this Province, but subversive of several of our most invaluable internal rights, as well as privileges, and from which we apprehend the most fatal consequences.

What of all most alarms us is an Act commonly called the Stamp Act, the full execution of which we apprehend would divest us of our most inestimable charter rights and privileges, rob us of our character as free and natural subjects, and of almost everything we ought, as a people, to hold dear.

Admitting there was no dispute as to the right of Parliament to impose such an Act upon us, yet we cannot forbear complaining of it in itself considered, as unequal and unjust, and a yoke too heavy for us to bear, and that not only as it falls heaviest upon the poor, the widow, and the fatherless and the orphan, not only as it will embarrass the trade and business of this infant country, and so prevent remittances to England, but more especially as the duties and penalties imposed by it are numerous, and so high that it will quickly drain the country of the little cash remaining in it, strip multitudes of their property, and reduce them to poverty, and in a short time render it utterly impossible for the people to subsist under it; and what will be the consequences of this to our friends in Great Britain, as well as to ourselves, is easily seen.*

* By this Act, a ream of bail bonds, *stamped*, cost £100; a ream of common printed ones before had been sold for £15. A ream of *stamped* policies of insurance cost £190; a ream of common ones without stamps, £20. Other papers were taxed in the same proportion.

But we humbly conceive this Act to be directly repugnant to those rights and privileges granted us in our charter, which we always hold sacred, as confirmed to us by the royal word and seal, and as frequently recognized by our Sovereign and the Parliament of Great Britain, wherein it is expressly granted to us and to our children, that we shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects, within any of his Majesty's Dominions, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as if we were every one of us born in his Majesty's realm of England; and, further, that the full power and authority to impose and levy proportionable and reasonable taxes, upon the estates and persons of all the inhabitants within the Province, for the support and defence of His Majesty's Government, are granted to the General Court or Assembly thereof.

But by this Act a tax, yea, a heavy tax, is imposed, not only without and beside the authority of said General Court, in which this power, which has never been forfeited nor given up, is said to be fully and exclusively lodged, but also in direct opposition to an essential right or privilege of free and natural subjects of Great Britain, who look upon it as their darling and constitutional right never to be taxed but by their own consent, in person or by their Representatives.

It is vain to pretend (as has been pretended) that we are virtually or in any just sense, represented in Parliament, when it is well known that, so far from this, our humble petitions and decent remonstrances, prepared and sent home by the representative body of this people, were not admitted a hearing in Parliament, even at the time when those measures and acts from which we apprehend so much, were depending in the Hon. House of Commons,—a hardship which greatly adds to the grievance, and seems to intimate that we have but too little to hope in consequence of the most humble and dutiful steps.

However, this is not all. By this Act we are most deeply affected, as hereby we are debarred of being tried by juries in case of any breach or supposed breach of it,—a right which, until now, we have held in common with our brethren in England; a right which under Providence has been the great barrier of justice, the support of liberty and property in Great Britain and America; a right which is the glory of the British government.

The Great Charter of England, commonly called Magna Charter, happily provided for all free and natural subjects of the realm of England, that no amercement shall be assessed but by the oath of honest and lawful men of the vicinage, and that no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised of his freehold or liberties, or free customs, nor passed upon, nor condemned, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; but instead of this most important right, such is the extension of power given by this Act to Courts of Admiralty, that all offences against it may be heard and tried and determined in said courts, to the entire subversion of this important right, confirmed to us by the Great Charter and our own.

This we apprehend will open a door to numberless evils which time only can discover. At least it will oftentimes oblige us to risk our fortunes, our liberties, and characters, upon the judgment of one, and perhaps a stranger, or perhaps that which is worse. This will subject us entirely to the mercy of avaricious informers, who may at pleasure summon us from one part of the Province to the other upon suspicion of the least offence, and thus bring upon innocent persons a sort of necessity of pleading guilty by paying the penalty, to avoid a greater expense. And this being the state of things, what will then be necessary but a weak or wicked person for a judge; and from natural and free-born subjects we shall quickly become the most abject slaves, wholly cut off from our last resource,—*hope of redress!*

These, sir, being the real sentiments of us, the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town, of this Act, as in its nature and effects considered, you cannot be surprised to find us greatly alarmed and deeply affected. And, therefore, at the same time that we are firmly resolved in all possible ways to express our filial duty and loyalty to our Sovereign, and a due veneration to both Houses of Parliament, we do also, as concerned for ourselves, our posterity and country, entreat and enjoin it upon you, that so far from encouraging, aiding, or assenting in the execution of this Act, you do rather endeavor, as far as consistent with allegiance and duty to our rightful Sovereign, to promote such measures as, on the contrary, may tend to preserve us in the enjoyment of the invaluable rights and liberties we at present possess, at least till we hear the result of the measures already taken for general redress.

In the mean time we earnestly recommend to you the most calm, decent, and dispassionate measures for our open, explicit, and resolute assertion and vindication of our charter rights and liberties, and that the same be so entered upon record that the world may see, and future generations know, that the present both knew and valued the rights they enjoyed, and did not tamely resign them for chains and slavery. We shall only add that the best economy of the public money is at all times necessary, and never more so than at present, when public debts are heavy, and the people's burdens great and likely to increase.

We take it for granted, therefore, that you will carefully avoid all unaccustomed and unconstitutional grants, which will not only add to the present burden, but make such precedents as will be attended with consequences which may prove greatly to the disadvantage of the public.

Instructions such as these, read in open town meeting, and discussed and adopted by a unanimous vote of the inhabitants, would do much towards creating a just appreciation of their rights as subjects, and of the duties they owed, not only to their Sovereign, but to themselves. A people thus instructed and

trained in the school of stern religious principles would be found ready for almost any emergency. Consequently, when the town of Boston, to manifest their opposition to the oppressive acts of the ministry, resolved that they would not import or use certain articles on which these duties were laid, the inhabitants of Lexington, at a meeting held Dec. 28, 1767, "*Voted unanimously*, To concur with the town of Boston respecting importing and using foreign commodities, as mentioned in their votes, passed at their meeting on the twenty-eighth day of October, 1767."

Nothing of moment occurred in the municipal affairs of the town during the period under review. Roads were repaired, schools were supported, the poor were provided for, and the paramount subject, the maintenance of public worship, received its due share of attention. But the subject which pressed upon them most heavily during this period was the oppression of the mother country. Not, however, that the measures of the British ministry did bear directly and immediately upon them with any distressing hardship at that time. But our patriotic forefathers looked at the principle involved in the measures, and they knew full well that a trifling tax upon stamped paper or upon tea would serve as an entering wedge to a system of taxation which must reduce the colonies to a state of absolute dependence, if not complete vassalage; and patriotism prompted, nay, religion required, that they should oppose the first attempt to trample upon their rights. . . .

On the twenty-first day of September, 1768, the inhabitants of Lexington assembled in town meeting legally warned, "To take into their serious consideration the distressed state of the Province at the present day, and to pass any vote relative thereto." After due consideration they made choice of Isaac Bowman, Esq., William Reed, Esq., and Dea. James Stone "to prepare reasons for our present conduct," who subsequently reported the following Declarations and Resolves:—

Whereas it is the principle in civil society, founded in nature and reason, that no law of the society can be binding on any individual without his consent, given by himself in person, or by his Representative of his own free election; and whereas, in and by an Act of the British Parliament, passed in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary of glorious and blessed memory, entitled an Act declaring the rights and liberties of the subjects, and settling the succession of the crown,—the Preamble of which Act is in these words, namely,—

"*Whereas* the late King James the Second, by the assistance of diverse evil Councillors, Judges, and Ministers employed by him, did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, it is expressly, among other things, declared that the levying of money for the use of the crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament for a longer time, or in other manner than the same is granted, is illegal."

And whereas, in the third year of the same King William and Queen Mary, their Majesties were graciously pleased, by their Royal Charter, to give and grant to the inhabitants of this his Majesty's Province all the territory therein described, to be holden in free and common soccage, and also to ordain and grant to the said inhabitants certain rights, liberties, and privileges therein expressly mentioned, among which it is granted, established, and ordained that all and every the subjects of them, their heirs and successors, which shall go to inhabit within said Province and territory, and every of their children which shall happen to be born there, and on the seas in going thither or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all the liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects, within any of the dominions of them, their heirs and successors, to all intents, purposes, and constructions whatever, as if they and every of them were born within the realm of England.

And whereas, by the aforesaid Act of Parliament, made in the first year of the said King William and Queen Mary, all and singular, the premises contained therein, are claimed, demanded, and insisted on as "the undoubted rights and liberties born within the realm; *And whereas* the freeholders and other inhabitants of this town in said charter mentioned do hold all the rights and liberties therein contained to be sacred and inviolable, at the same time publicly and solemnly acknowledging their firm and unshaken allegiance to their alone rightful Sovereign King George the Third, the lawful successor of the said King William and Queen Mary to the British throne:—

Therefore, Resolved, That the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Lexington will, at the utmost peril of their lives and fortunes, take all legal and constitutional measures to defend and maintain the person, family, crown, and dignity of our said Sovereign Lord, George the Third, and all and singular the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities granted in said royal charter, as well as those which are declared to be belonging to us as British subjects, by birthright, as all others therein specially mentioned.

And whereas, by the said Royal Charter, it is specially granted to the Great and General Court or Assembly therein constituted to impose and levy proportionable and reasonable assessments, rates, and taxes upon the estates and persons of all and every the proprietors and inhabitants of the said Province or territory, for the service of the king in the necessary defence and support of his government of the Province, and the protection and preservation of his subjects therein:

Therefore, Voted, As the opinion of this town, that levying money within this Province for the use and service of the crown in any other manner than the same is granted by the Great and General Court or Assembly of this Province is in violation of the said Royal Charter; and the same is in violation of the undoubted, natural rights of subjects, declared in the aforesaid Act of Parliament, freely to give and grant their own money for the service of the crown, with their own consent in person, or by Representatives of their own free election.

And whereas, in the aforesaid Act of Parliament, it is declared that the raising and keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law, it is the opinion of this town that the said Declaration is founded in the indefeasible rights of the subjects to be consulted, and to give their free consent in person or by Representative, of their own free election, to the raising and keeping a standing army among them. And the inhabitants of this town, being free subjects, have the same rights derived from nature, and confirmed by the British Constitution, as well as by the Royal Charter; and, therefore, the raising or keeping a standing army without their consent in person or by representatives of their own free election would be an infringement of their natural, constitutional, and charter rights. And the employment of such an army for the enforcing of laws made without the consent of the people in person or by their representatives would be a grievance.

The foregoing Report being several times distinctly read and considered by the town, the question was put whether the same shall be accepted and recorded, and passed unanimously in the affirmative.

The following vote was also unanimously passed:—

Whereas, by an Act of Parliament of the first of King William and Queen Mary, it is declared, that for the redress of all grievances and for amending, strengthening, and preserving the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently; and inasmuch, as it is the opinion of this town that the people of this Province labor under many grievances, which, unless speedily redressed, threaten the total destruction of our invaluable, natural, constitutional, and charter rights; and, furthermore, as his Excellency the Governor, at the request of the town of Boston, has declared himself unable to call a General Court, which is the Assembly of the States of this Province for the redress of grievances,—

Voted, That this town will now make choice of some suitable person to join with such as are or may be appointed and sent from the several other towns in this Province, to consult and advise what may be best for the public good at this critical juncture.

Then made choice of William Reed, Esq.

Also Voted, To keep a day of prayer on the occasion, and left it to the Rev. Mr. Clarke to appoint the time.

These sentiments published in open town meeting, and sanctified by a day of fasting and prayer, would, of course, govern the conduct of a sincere and conscientious people. No wonder therefore, we find them, in 1769, ready to make what at the present day would in some families be considered a great sacrifice, by voting "not to use any tea or snuff, nor keep them, nor suffer them to be used in our families, till the duties are taken off."

In 1772 a measure was on foot to make the Supreme Judges independent of the people, by granting them a salary directly by Parliament, thus taking from the people the only hold they had upon those officers,—that of withholding supplies. This measure was no sooner talked of than the alarm was given.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lexington, held Dec. 31, 1772, the following resolves were passed:—

1. That it is the natural right and indisputable duty of every man, and consequently of every society or body of men, to consult their own safety, and to take measures for the preservation of their own liberty and property, without which life itself can scarcely be deemed worth possessing.

2. That the security of life, liberty, and property to a people is, and ought always to be considered, as the great end of all government, and is acknowledged to be the professed end of the happy constitution of the British Government in particular.

3. That when through imperfections, necessarily attendant upon the wisest systems of which fallible men are capable, or through the designs of wicked or crafty men in places of power and trust, any laws or acts of government are found to be obnoxious or oppressive to the subject, it is wisely provided and established by Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, and other statutes of England, that not only counties, cities, and corporations, but also towns and individuals, may consult and adopt measures for redress by petition, remonstrance, or other ways, as occasion and the emergency of affairs may require.

4. That the inhabitants of this town and Province by the Royal Charter (a sacred compact between them and the crown) being vested with all the rights and privileges of Englishmen, and British subjects have the indisputable right, both as a people and as individuals, to judge for themselves when laws or measures of government are obnoxious or oppressive, and to consult upon, and adopt the best measures in their power for redress when oppressed.

5. And, therefore, That as the inhabitants of this town look upon themselves, in common with their brethren and fellow-subjects through the Province, to be greatly injured and oppressed in various instances

by measures of Government lately adopted, especially by the proposed measure of making the judges dependent upon the crown alone for their support, they cannot but judge it their inalienable right and a duty they owe to themselves and posterity, as a town as well as individuals, to take these matters into serious consideration, freely to express their sentiments concerning them, and consult measures for redress.

Then *voted* that a committee of seven be chosen to report to the town at an adjournment of this meeting, a draft of Instructions for their Representative, also of such further Votes and Resolves, as they may think best to recommend to the town.—Then made choice of William Reed, Esq., Isaac Bowman, Esq., Capt. Thaddeus Bowman, Dea. Benjamin Brown, Mr. Samuel Bridge, Dea. Joseph Loring, and Mr. Joseph Simonds.

At an adjourned meeting held Jan. 5, 1772, this committee submitted the following document, fraught with the wisdom and patriotism of their pious and devoted pastor, which was unanimously adopted:—

To Mr. Jonas Stone, Representative of the Town of Lexington:

Sir,—It is not to call in question your capacity, disposition, or fidelity, of which we have given the fullest evidence in the choice we have made of you to represent us in the General Court of this Province, but in exercising our right of instructing our Representatives, to open our minds freely to you upon matters which appear to us interesting to ourselves, to the Province, and to posterity, and to strengthen and confirm you in measures which, we trust, your own judgment would have suggested, as necessary and important to our common safety and prosperity, though we had been silent.

Our worthy ancestors, after many struggles with their enemies in the face of every danger and at the expense of much treasure and blood, secured to themselves and transmitted to us their posterity a fair and rich inheritance, not only of a pleasant and fertile land, but also of invaluable rights and privileges, both as men and Christians, as stated in the Royal Charter of the Province, and secured to us by the faith of the British Crown and Kingdom. As we hold due allegiance to our rightful Sovereign, King George III., and are ready with our lives and fortunes to support his just and constitutional government, so we look upon ourselves as bound by the most sacred ties, to the utmost of our power, to maintain and defend ourselves in our charter rights and privileges, and, as a sacred trust committed to us, to transmit them inviolate to succeeding generations.

It is the general voice, at least of the more thinking and judicious among us, that our charter rights and liberties are in danger, are infringed, and upon the most careful, mature, and serious consideration of them, as stated in our Charter, and comparing them with Acts of the British Parliament, and measures adopted by the British Court,

Ministry, and Government, relating to this and other American Colonies, some of which have been carried into execution among us, we are clearly of opinion that they have been for some time past, and are at present, greatly infringed and violated hereby in various instances, and these measures have been gone into from time to time by the Honorable Council and House of Representatives of the Province for relief and redress; yet, so far from being successful, our grievances seem to increase and be more and more intolerable every day.

The unhappy and distressing effects of the measures referred to are too many to admit, and too well known and felt to require a particular mention. But we cannot forbear observing the glowing contrast which, in some instances, is to be seen, between our Charter and the Resolves and Acts of the British Parliament, and measures of administration, adopted by the British Court, respecting the people of this, as well as other Colonies.

The Charter grants to our General Court full power and authority from time to time to make, ordain, and establish all manner of reasonable laws, &c., and that such laws, &c., not being disallowed by the King within three years, shall continue in full force until the expiration thereof, or until repealed by the same authority. But the British Parliament have resolved that they have a right to make laws, binding upon the Colonies in all cases whatsoever, so that, whenever they please to carry this resolve into execution, they may by another resolve, passed into an Act, by one powerful stroke vacate our Charter, and in a moment dash all our laws out of existence or bury them together in one common ruin. By the Charter the right of taxing the people is lodged in the General Court of the Province, and we think exclusively. But by the late revenue Acts, which have been, with so many ensigns of power and terror, in open violations of the laws and liberties of this people, put into execution by the Commissioners of the Customs, this right is clearly infringed, and the power put into and exercised by other hands.

By the Charter we are vested with all the rights and liberties of British subjects, one of which we know is in Magna Charta declared to be that of trial by jury, and that no freeman shall be disseised of his freehold, liberties, &c., but by the lawful judgment of his peers, &c. But such is the provision made in the revenue Act, and such the exercise of the power of courts of admiralty, that men may be disseised of their liberty, and carried from one part of the country to the other, and be tried and sentenced by one judge, for any, even the smallest breach of this Act, whether real or supposed. Though the Charter provides for the erecting of judicatories for the hearing and trying all manner of offences, as well criminal and capital as civil, yet, if we are rightly informed, a late Act of Parliament provides, and directs in some cases, that persons may be seized and carried to England for trial, and that for life. Should this be the truth, where is the right of freemen,—where the boasted liberty of English subjects?

The Charter represents the Governor of this Province as Captain General, and as having full power and authority in all military and warlike affairs, and of himself to appoint all military officers, to erect forts and commit them to the custody of such person or persons as to him shall seem meet. But can it be said that this is the truth in fact, when the Governor himself declares that he has no authority over those who have custody of the most important fortress, and where garrisons are changed and officers appointed, not only not by the Governor, but without his knowledge or consent. Whether this is the state of Castle William, the principal fortress of this Province, appears to us to be a question not unworthy the serious attention and most critical inquiry of the Great and General Court.

The Charter not only vests the General Court with the right of imposing taxes, but also points out the ends for which taxes are to be raised, one of which is the support of the government, justly supposing that necessary connection between the governing and governed, and that mutual dependence which preserves a due balance between them, which in all well-regulated States has been found to have the happiest tendency to promote good government on the one hand and cheerful obedience on the other. But not enough that the right of taxation is violated, but the right of determining the merit and services of those that are employed in government must be yielded too. Thus, with respect to the first officers among us, the only remaining interest whereby persons in the service of the public were induced to be faithful in their trust to the people is dissolved; and, being entirely dependent upon the crown for both place and support, it becomes their interest, at least in many cases, to be unfaithful and partial in their administration with regard to the people. And, considering the imperfections of human nature, it is scarcely possible it should be otherwise, even though the best of men were in authority. For interest will have its influence to blind the eyes and pervert the judgment of the wisest and most upright.

We have been certified in form that this is the case with the gentlemen in the chief seat of Government, and at the head of the Province, and, from the best information we are able to obtain, we have but too much reason to fear that the same has taken place with respect to a number of others in places of trust and power, of no small importance to the well-being of this people. Particularly we have reason to think this to be the fact with respect to the Judges of the Supreme Court, the highest court of justice in the Province,—the court upon the decisions and determinations of which all our interests respecting property, liberty, or life, do chiefly and ultimately depend; and what adds to the indignity of this measure is that it is to be carried into effect, as we have just reason to suppose, at our expense, at the same time that it is against our consent. Thus the plan of oppression is begun, and so far carried on that, if our enemies are still successful, and no means can be found to put a stop to their career, no measures contrived for

a restoration of our affairs to a constitutional course, as pointed out in our Charter, we have just reason to fear that the eyes of the Government being blinded, the sources of justice poisoned, and hands of the administration bribed with interest, the system of slavery will soon be complete. These things are of so interesting a nature, so deeply affecting, and so big with the ruin of all our rights and liberties, both civil and religious, that we readily acknowledge that we cannot so much as transiently view them without a mixture of horror, indignation, and grief.

But this is not all. Our Charter knows no such thing as instructions to Government; and yet what have not instructions done to distress this people? And if, in addition to these, it should be found upon the inquiry of the guardians of the Province in General Court assembled (and they have a right to inquire) that the law has not in all instances had its course, or that at any time measures have been successful to stay justice from offenders, it seems as if it was time to be alarmed, and provide for our own safety, or else tamely to bow to the yoke, and forever hereafter be silent. Whether this representation be just is submitted, and must be left to time and facts to discover. But that these, among other things, are worthy our most serious attention, as subjects of inquiry and deep interest, cannot be disputed.

And therefore to you, Sir, whom we have chosen to represent us in the Great and General Court of Inquest for this Province, we do most earnestly recommend it, that you use your utmost influence that these, as well as all other matters in which the rights and liberties of this people are concerned, are impartially inquired into and dispassionately considered by the General Assembly, and that measures be pursued by Petition to the throne or otherwise, as the Court in their great wisdom shall see meet, for a radical and lasting redress. That thus, whether successful or not, succeeding generations might know that we understood our rights and liberties, and were neither afraid nor ashamed to assert and maintain them, and that we ourselves may have at least this consolation in our chains, that it was not through our neglect that this people were enslaved.

WILLIAM REED, *Per Order.*

At the same meeting the town took into consideration a communication from the town of Boston on the same general subject, and

Voted, That this town entirely concur with them in their sentiments, both as to the nature of our rights and the high infraction of them by the late measures of Government, and with pleasure embrace this opportunity to express the great sense they have of the vigilance and patriotic spirit they and our brethren in many other towns have discovered upon this and various occasions, for the preservation of our rights.

Voted, also, That this town has a right to correspond with other towns upon matters of common concern, and that a Committee be accordingly chosen to transmit the proceeding of this meeting to the Gentlemen of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston; and, further, to correspond with them, as well as the Committee of other towns, upon matters of common concern, as occasion may require.

The town then proceeded and chose the following-named gentlemen as their Committee of Correspondence: Capt. Thaddeus Bowman, Dea. Jonas Stone, Ensign Robert Harrington, Dea. Benjamin Brown, and Dea. Joseph Loring.

The opposition to the Stamp Act was such that Parliament was induced to repeal it, which they did in 1766. But this was a change rather than an abandonment of their policy. They repealed an act which they saw that they could not enforce, for the purpose of adopting other measures which they deemed more likely to bring the colonists to their feet.

In December, 1773, the inhabitants were called together to consider the state of public affairs, and especially the subject of the Tea, sent over by the East India Company, when the whole subject was referred to the Committee of Correspondence, who subsequently submitted the following Report, which was unanimously adopted:—

That from intelligence transmitted by the Committee of Correspondence in the Town of Boston to the Committee of Correspondence for this place, and by them communicated to the town, it appears that the enemies of the rights and liberties of America, greatly disappointed in the success of the Revenue Act, are seeking to avail themselves of a new, and, if possible, yet more detestable measure to distress, enslave, and destroy us. Not enough that a tax was laid upon teas, which should be imported by us, for the sole purpose of raising a revenue to support taskmasters, pensioners, &c., in idleness and luxury, but by a late Act of Parliament, to appease the wrath of the East India Company, whose trade to America had been greatly clogged by the operation of the Revenue Acts, provision is made for said Company to export their Teas to America free, and discharged from the payment of all duties and customs in England, but liable to all the same rules, regulations, penalties, and forfeitures in America, as are provided by the Revenue Act, as much as if the above-mentioned Act had never been passed.

Not to say anything of the gross partiality herein discovered in favor of the East India Company, and to the injury and oppression of Americans, we are alarmed at the masterly effort of iniquitous policy, as it has the most gloomy effect upon the trade of these colonies and gives an opening to the East India Company, or others under the covert

of an Act of Parliament, for the unrighteous purpose of raising and securing a revenue to the crown out of the purses of industrious Americans, to monopolize one branch after another, until in the process of time the whole trade will be in their hands, and by their consignees, factors, &c., they will be the sole merchants of America.

And, further, we are more especially alarmed, as by these crafty measures the Revenue Act is to be established, and the rights and liberties of Americans forever sapped and destroyed. These appear to us to be sacrifices we must make, and these are the costly pledges that must be given into the hands of the oppressor. The moment we receive this detested article, the tribute will be established upon us. For nothing short of this will ever fill the mouth of the oppressor, or gorge the insatiate appetite of lust and ambition. Once admit this subtle, wicked ministerial plan to take place, once permit this tea, thus imposed upon us by the East India Company, to be landed, received, and vended by their consignees, factors, &c., the badge of our slavery is fixed, the foundation of ruin is surely laid; and, unless a wise and powerful God, by some unforeseen revolution in Providence, shall prevent, we shall soon be obliged to bid farewell to the once flourishing trade of America, and an everlasting adieu to those glorious rights and liberties for which our worthy ancestors so earnestly prayed, so bravely fought, so freely bled!

This being the light in which we view these measures of administration in their nature and tendency, we cannot but be alarmed, especially when we see our danger so great, our ruin so nearly effected, the ship with the detested tribute Tea in the harbor, and the persons appointed to receive and sell the same unnaturally refusing to resign their appointment, though by carrying it into effect, they should procure their country's ruin. As therefore we should be wanting to ourselves, to our country and posterity, to be silent upon such an occasion as this, and as we have no reason to expect that God, the Supreme Disposer of all things, will work miracles for us, while we neglect ourselves, we do with the greatest seriousness and sincerity come into the following

RESOLVES.

1. That as the Revenue Act, and the Act allowing the East India Company to export Teas into the Colonies subject to duties, with all the measures of the Ministry and Administration, whether by secret craft or open violence to carry said Acts into effect, appear to us to be a direct violation of our charter rights and liberties, we are determined to the utmost of our power in every rational way, upon this and all proper occasions, to oppose them, and use our most vigilant and resolute endeavors to prevent their taking place among us.

2. That we will not be concerned either directly or indirectly in landing, receiving, buying, or selling, or even using any of the Teas sent out by the East India Company, or that shall be imported subject

to a duty imposed by Act of Parliament, for the purpose of raising a revenue in America.

3. That all such persons as shall directly or indirectly aid and assist in landing, receiving, buying, selling, or using the Teas sent by the East India Company, or imported by others subject to a duty, for the purpose of a revenue, shall be deemed and treated by us as enemies of their country.

4. That the conduct of Richard Clarke and son, the Governor's two sons, Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, and other consignees, in refusing to resign their appointment as factors, or vendue masters for the East India Company, when repeatedly requested by the town of Boston, has justly rendered them obnoxious to their fellow-citizens, to the inhabitants of this town, and to the people of the Province, and America in general; and, as upon this occasion they have discovered, not only want of due affection for their native country, but also from selfish views (as we think), a strange disposition to accelerate its ruin, we cannot but consider them as objects of our just resentment, indignation, and contempt.

5. That, as it has been basely insinuated that the measures taken to prevent the reception of the East India Company's Teas are the effect of a scheme of the merchants to advance their own interest, it is the opinion of this town that the suggestion is false and malicious, and designed at the same time to deceive and delude the people into a compliance with measures of their enemies, and to prevent the good effect of the honest and patriotic endeavors of so valuable and powerful part of the community to rescue the trade and liberties of their country from impending destruction.

6. That, as with gratitude to our brethren in Boston and other towns we do express our satisfaction in the measures they have taken, and the struggles they have made upon this, as well as many other occasions, for the liberties of their country and America, we are ready and resolved to concur with them in every rational measure that may be necessary for the preservation or recovery of our rights and liberties as Englishmen and Christians; and we trust in God that, should the state of our affairs require it, *we shall be ready to sacrifice our estates and everything dear in life, yea, and life itself, in support of the common cause.*

The above Resolves being passed, a motion was made that to them another should be added. Accordingly, it was resolved without a dissenting voice,—

That if any head of a family in this town, or any person, shall from this time forward, and until the duty be taken off, purchase any Tea, or sell or consume any Tea in their families, such person shall be looked upon as an enemy to this town, and to this country, and shall by this town be treated with neglect and contempt.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lexington, duly warned, on the 26th of September, 1774, Dea. Stone was chosen to represent the town in the General Court. A committee, consisting of Capt. Bowman, Dea. Brown, and Lieut. Edmund Munroe, was chosen to prepare Instructions, who reported the following draft, which was adopted:—

The alarming situation of our public affairs being so distressing as at present, and our Council being chosen by a mandamus from the King, whose authority as a Council we cannot own, nor consent to,—

We, therefore, the inhabitants of the town of Lexington, being assembled at the Meeting-house in said town, on Monday, the twenty-sixth day of September instant, to make choice of a Representative, and having made choice of Dea. Stone as our Representative, we, putting the fullest confidence in your integrity and ability, do instruct you, Sir, in the following manner, to use your utmost influence at the Great and General Court, that nothing there be transacted as a Court, under the new Council, or in conformity with any of the late Acts of Parliament.

At the same meeting they chose Dea Stone a delegate to the Provincial Congress. Having repeatedly denounced the acts of the Ministry and Parliament, as acts of oppression, designed to rob the people of the Colonies of every right which they held dear, and having pledged their *fortunes and their lives*, should the occasion require, in defence of the great principles of liberty, like men who knew what they said, and said what they meant, the inhabitants of the town made preparation for the last resort of oppressed subjects. Consequently, at meetings held in November and December, they voted “to provide a suitable quantity of flints,” “to bring two pieces of cannon from Watertown and mount them,” “to provide a pair of drums for the use of the military company in town,” “to provide bayonets at the town’s cost for one-third of the training soldiers,” to “have the militia and alarm list meet for a view of their arms,” &c.; and, that these votes should not prove a mere dead letter, committees were chosen to carry them into effect.

Besides, as the Provincial Congress had recommended to the people to put themselves in a state of defence by organizing military companies, to be armed and equipped, and to be ready to march at the shortest notice, it was voted by the inhabitants of Lexington that they would carry out these recommendations; and committees were appointed for that purpose. As the Congress had also chosen Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stow, to be Re-

ceiver General of all province taxes which should be collected, and requested the several towns to pay their respective portions of the taxes, when collected, over to him, instead of paying them over to Harrison Gray, Esq., His Majesty's Receiver General, the people directed their collectors to pay the province tax, when collected, over to Henry Gardner, Esq., and assured them by solemn vote that the town would see them harmless for so doing. These "awful notes of preparation" showed that the people were prepared for any emergency, and firmly resolved to maintain their rights by the sword, if remonstrance and entreaty should prove ineffectual. We do not claim for the town of Lexington any exclusive honor in this respect. But we do say that no town, under all the circumstances, is deserving of more praise. . . .

I have been thus particular in presenting the acts and doings of the inhabitants of Lexington preparatory to the opening of hostilities; for, after all, we are to contemplate the American Revolution not so much in the strife upon the ensanguined field as in the cool deliberation and the firm resolve which characterized our people at the period immediately preceding the open rupture. I have been thus particular in order to present to the public those valuable state papers, written by the Rev. Jonas Clarke, which prepared our people, not only for the contest, but for the just appreciations of rational and constitutional liberty. It is an easy thing in times of excitement to arouse the passions of men, and nerve their arms for battle,—“to teach their hands to war and their fingers to fight.” But to instil into their minds the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and make them realize their duty as citizens, is a more difficult task. But this has been done in a clear and able manner in the documents above cited. So fully and so clearly are the grievances under which our fathers labored and the causes which gave rise to the American Revolution set forth that, if all other records were destroyed, and all recollections blotted from the memory, the faithful historian could, from the Instructions given to the Representatives of Lexington, and the other papers found in our Records, emanating from the pen of Mr. Clarke, trace the developments of oppression from year to year, and state the true causes of that mighty struggle. . . .

Those, therefore, who contemplate the Revolution as commencing on the 19th of April, 1775, must look at effects rather than at causes, and suffer their minds to rest upon the outward and visible rather than penetrate the great moral causes operat-

ing by fixed and certain laws, which had been developing themselves for more than a century. The rash act of Pitcairn at Lexington Common was by no means the cause of the Revolution. It was merely the accidental occurrence which opened the drama at that time and place. The tragedy had been written, the great parts assigned, and the grand result penned by the recording angel; and, if the first act had not been opened at Lexington and Concord, it must have transpired on some other field. Otis and Adams opened the battle of the Revolution long before the bayonet was fixed or the sword drawn. Clarke's Instructions to our Representatives did as much to make the patriots stand firm on the Common in the very face of a superior force as did the stern command of the gallant Parker.

The town meeting is the most characteristic and most potent political institution evolved and contributed to the world by New England. "Those wards called townships in New England," said Jefferson, "are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation." "Nations which are accustomed to township institutions and municipal government," said De Tocqueville, "are better able than any other to found prosperous colonies. The habit of thinking and governing for one's self is indispensable in a new country." Lecky expresses the opinion that it was to the vigor of the town governments and local institutions more than to anything else that was due the supremacy of England in America, the successful colonization out of which grew at last the United States, and that France failed precisely for want of this. Parkman repeatedly emphasizes this contrast in his volumes. Mill, Freeman, Emerson, Richard Henry Lee, and many others have treated this subject. See their testimony referred to in the last chapter of Hosmer's *Life of Samuel Adams*. Samuel Adams, "the last of the Puritans," "the father of the American Revolution," is also well called pre-eminently "the man of the town meeting." Bancroft speaks of him as "the truest representative of the home rule of Massachusetts in its town meetings and General Court."

Never did the town meeting show itself so powerful or impressive as in New England during the dozen years preceding the outbreak of the Revolution. The Boston town meeting, under the lead of Samuel Adams and his great associates, showed itself, in the dignity and strength of its public declarations, its speeches and its acts, more than a match for the British Parliament; and the seriousness and nobility of the meetings in a score of the larger towns which supported Boston are unparalleled in simple local annals. The resolutions and instructions framed in many of them would do honor to the world's historic parliaments. The Lexington records given in the present leaflet are matched by the records of many of our historic towns. See references in Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, ii. 453-458. See the accounts of the proceedings in New England during the decade preceding the Revolution in Bancroft, Fiske, Palfrey, Trevelyan, and other histories of the period. See chapter on the Town Meeting in Fiske's "American Political Ideas," the chapters on Local Government in Bryce's "American Commonwealth," the paper on the Colonial Town Meeting in Hart's "Practical Essays in American Government," sections in Woodrow Wilson's "The State," and references in Channing and Hart's "Guide to American History," pp. 271, 313, etc.

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Old South Leaflets.

No. 157.

The Lowell Offering.

October, 1845.

A WEEK IN THE MILL.

Much has been said of the factory girl and her employment. By some she has been represented as dwelling in a sort of brick-and-mortar paradise, having little to occupy thought save the weaving of gay and romantic fancies, while the spindle or the wheel flies obediently beneath her glance. Others have deemed her a mere servile drudge, chained to her labor by almost as strong a power as that which holds a bondman in his fetters; and, indeed, some have already given her the title of "*the white slave of the North.*" Her real situation approaches neither one nor the other of these extremes. Her occupation is as laborious as that of almost any female who earns her own living, while it has also its sunny spots and its cheerful intervals, which make her hard labor seem comparatively pleasant and easy.

Look at her as she commences her weekly task. The rest of the Sabbath has made her heart and her step light, and she is early at her accustomed place, awaiting the starting of the machinery. Everything having been cleaned and neatly arranged on the Saturday night, she has less to occupy her on Monday than on other days; and you may see her leaning from the window to watch the glitter of the sunrise on the water, or looking away at the distant forests and fields, while memory wanders to her beloved country home; or it may be that she is conversing with a sister-laborer near, returning at regular intervals to see that her work is in order.

Soon the breakfast bell rings. In a moment the whirling wheels are stopped, and she hastens to join the throng which is pouring through the open gate. At the table she mingles with a various group. Each despatches the meal hurriedly, though not often in silence; and, if, as is sometimes the case, the rules of politeness are not punctiliously observed by all, the excuse of some lively country girl would be, "They don't give us time for *manners.*"

The short half-hour is soon over. The bell rings again, and now our factory girl feels that she has commenced her day's work in earnest. The time is often apt to drag heavily till the dinner hour arrives. Perhaps some part of the work becomes deranged and stops. The constant friction causes a belt of leather to burst into a flame; a stranger visits the room, and scans the features and dress of its inmates inquiringly; and there is little else to break the monotony. The afternoon passes in much the same manner. Now and then she mingles with a knot of busy talkers who have collected to discuss some new occurrence, or holds pleasant converse with some intelligent and agreeable friend, whose acquaintance she has formed since her factory life commenced; but much of the time she is left to her own thoughts. While at her work the clattering and rumbling around her prevent any other noise from attracting her attention, and she *must think*, or her life would be dull indeed.

Thus the day passes on, and evening comes, the time which she feels to be exclusively her own. How much is done in the three short hours from seven to ten o'clock. She has a new dress to finish, a call to make on some distant corporation, a meeting to attend. There is a lecture or a concert at some one of the public halls, and the attendance will be thin if she and her associates are not present; or, if nothing more imperative demands her time, she takes a stroll through the street or to the river with some of her mates or sits down at home to peruse a new book. At ten o'clock all is still for the night.

The clang of the early bell awakes her to another day, very nearly the counterpart of the one which preceded it. And so the week rolls on, in the same routine, till Saturday comes. Saturday! the welcome sound! She busies herself to remove every particle of cotton and dust from her frame or looms, cheering herself meanwhile with sweet thoughts of the coming Sabbath; and when, at an earlier hour than usual, the mill is stopped, it looks almost beautiful in its neatness.

Then approaches the Sabbath—the day of rest! If the factory girl keeps it well, it must be at church; for there are some in every boarding-house who find an excuse for staying at home half the day at least. One of her room-mates is indisposed, another says she *must* write a letter to her friends, another has to work so hard during the week that she thinks she *ought* to make this *literally* a “day of rest,” so that retirement and meditation are out of the question. But in the Sabbath school and sanctuary her time is well spent. No one is more constant at church or earlier in her seat than the operative who has been trained to know the value of the institution of the gospel. The instructions which she receives sink deep into her heart, giving her a fund of thought for the coming week. Her pastor and her Sabbath-school teacher are felt to be her best friends; and their kindness is a strong allurement to her spirit, often keeping her long from her less-favored home. If it is said that many a one has here found a grave, shall it not also be said that many a one has here found the path to heaven?

The writer is aware that this sketch is an imperfect one. Yet there is very little variety in an operative's life, and little difference between it and any other life of labor. It lies

“half in sunlight—half in shade.”

Few would wish to spend a whole life in a factory, and few are discontented who do thus seek a subsistence for a term of months or years.

* *

WANDERINGS WITH THE PAST.

Alas! when assailed by sickness, how often do we thoughtlessly murmur without stopping a moment to reflect on the querulousness of our complainings. Not unfrequently may sickness be traced to some violation of the laws of our physical natures; but instead of attributing it to its true source, we are apt to regard it as a direct visitation from God, and in our selfishness secretly accuse Him of injustice. I say *secretly*, for I believe few have the hardihood openly to arraign their Creator; but the guilty feeling is not the less reprehensible even though it be hidden in the deep recesses of the heart. A few days' prostration by sickness, although many miles from the home of my youth and childhood's sunny haunts, have been passed by me not unpleasantly. While suffering, through bodily pain, my mind wandered back, and in imagination I lived over bygone days of pure unadulterated happiness. Again in the thoughtlessness of happy childhood I chased the gaudy butterfly as it sported from flower to flower, ever eluding my grasp. Once more I rambled over flowery meadows without any definite object in view, heedlessly plucking buttercups as I ran, admiring them merely for their bright colors, without ever thinking how they came to be scattered over the meadows so profusely, giving them a rich and glittering appearance, resembling the brilliant star-lit canopy over my head; and then at nightfall, when wearied Nature could exert herself no more, I eagerly sought my mother's side, and, placing my head in her lap, the low-murmured tones of a mother's unselfish love soon brought sweet and refreshing sleep, a welcome visitor, to my weary eyelids.

Again, I ran hand in hand with my youthful school companions, over hill and dale, and in greenwood shade, plucking forest flowers to crown the head of some little favorite, to whom we gave the romantic name of the wood-nymph. Among our number was one who was not undeserving this title. Anne N—— was truly beautiful. Her skin was of a pure white, and so transparent that the blood could be seen coursing through the blue veins of her temples; her cheek was tinged with that roseate hue which lends such an irresistible charm to the fashionable belle, but is still sweeter seen on the happy innocent face of the young school-girl; her auburn hair fell in natural ringlets over her neck and

shoulders; and her deep blue eyes sparkled with feeling and intelligence. Such was the outward form of Anne N——, and, when crowned with a wreath of simple wild flowers, she did indeed appear unlike one of earth's children. But not long was our wood-nymph permitted to remain with us. She was too pure and beautiful for earth, and, ere she had numbered fourteen summers, the Angel of Death transplanted her to a more congenial clime, where her pure spirit rests on the bosom of its God, and forever enjoys the fulness of His love. For a time the spirit of sadness seemed to reign over the before happy group. The woods no longer rang with merry laughter, the very flowers which had been so eagerly sought for wore a sickly hue, and no hand rudely snapped them from their parent stems. The brilliant rays of the sun appeared less dazzlingly beautiful, and finally all Nature seemed to mourn with us the loss of our favorite wood-nymph. Sadness cannot long sit enthroned in youthful hearts, and many suns had not risen and set before Anne was apparently forgotten by the light-hearted group; but there were some few of the number who *could not* forget, and they often breathe a sigh and drop a tear to her memory.

Fancy carried me still on until I entered an academy some miles distant from my father's, where I found another gay group of laughter-loving girls, who were ready to be my companions in hours of merriment and study; but, oh, how slowly sped time! 'Twere an age in fancy before I was recalled to make one of the happy group that gathered round my father's fireside; and here I would, but *cannot*, picture my enjoyment,—'twas happiness,—a happiness which can be felt, but not uttered. Again, in fancy I enjoyed the society of parents, loved brothers and sisters, once more we read and worshipped together, and then came those delightful moonlight rides on Otsego's lovely lake, whose pure waters reflected the happy faces that filled our frail barque. And when, at length, imagination became wearied with roaming 'mid past scenes, and returned to take cognizance of what passed in present time, I mentally thanked my God that, though suffering through bodily pain, my mind was untrammelled, and free to review not only past and present, but also to speculate on future scenes of happiness.

E. D. P.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY. NO. II.

RECOLLECTIONS OF L. L.

(Concluded.)

A DREAM, OR THE PALACE OF HAPPINESS. One evening young Anna wandered to the side of a brook, and, seating herself on the soft moss which covered its banks, she fell asleep. She thought she saw something upon the water that looked like an eggshell. As it approached, she perceived that it was a small boat, containing a fairy, who was not much larger than a grasshopper. Anna sat gazing with surprise, when the fairy got out of the boat, and said, "Follow me!" Anna obeyed; and the fairy led the way to a rock which was near. She knocked three times, and then the rock opened, and a train of fairies, dressed in sky-blue, appeared. "We are now at the gate of my palace," said the fairy: "you must follow me

still." Anna followed her into a room hung with curtains of every color of the rainbow, around which stood fairies, who bowed as they passed. They proceeded through a long passage into a garden, at the end of which was a bower. Here they sat down; and the fairy said, "My name is the Queen Innocenta, and this palace is called the palace of Happiness; those fairies whom you saw are my subjects. I have long known you, and have wished to give you something as a mark of my love." She rang a little bell, and two of the fairies appeared. She whispered something to one of them, and they both disappeared. Anna did not know what this meant, and was about to ask the queen, when they came again, and with them three of the most lovely creatures she ever saw. "My love," said the queen, "I give you these three maidens to watch over you, and protect you. Their names are Modesty, Piety, and Humility; and"—She was about to add more when Anna awoke; and the crickets were chirping, and the nightingale singing, so she traced her path home. L.

But the predominant taste was for rhyming. Out of the "acres" of poetry we select a few.

SUNSET.

Sunset! when the bee to his home wings his way.
 Sunset! when children love dearly to play
 'Mid the flowers and the trees, on the soft tender grass;
 And chase the gay hours till thy red light is past.

At sunset the reaper returns from his toil.
 Sunset with dew-drops refreshes the soil.
 Sunset sheds richness and glory around
 Which through the long day but rarely are found.

Sunset! we love thee! we love thy cool hours,
 When the sun's parting ray gilds our garden of flowers!
 And often, oh! often at sunset may we
 Be thankful to God, and low bend the knee.

TO AN EARLY FRIEND.

Full many a year has passed away
 Since we were wont to range
 O'er hill and dale, so blithe and gay,—
 But with the years we change.

Our childhood's happy days are gone.
 Then we were never sad;
 In flowery paths we tripped along,
 And all around seemed glad.

And we've been thoughtless, giddy girls,
 Fluttering in each gay scene;
 Round pleasure's vortex lightly whirled,—
 'Twas like a witching dream.

The dream has fled; and we have found
 Earth's joys unreal are;
 They're but a name, a hollow sound,
 And false as they are fair.

Though life's bright morn has not declined,
 We oft have tasted grief;
 And pleasures of the world, we find,
 Afford us no relief.

We know for every wounded one
 A sovereign balm there is:
 Then we will leave earth's joys alone
 And seek this heavenly bliss.

LIFE.

Childhood's like a tender bud
 That's scarce been formed an hour,
 But which, ere long, will doubtless be
 A bright and lovely flower.

And youth is like a full-blown rose
 Which has not known decay,
 But which must soon—alas! too soon —
 Wither, and fade away.

Old age is like a withered rose,
 That bends beneath the blast;
 But though its beauty all is gone,
 Its fragrance yet may last.

THE FAIRY'S INVITATION.

Oh, come with me, maiden! oh, come with me!
 Far over the hills, far over the sea,
 Where the eagle his eyry has built in the cliff,
 Or glide with me in my light little skiff.

We'll fly to the clouds! we'll down to the sea!
 We'll go where the dolphins are sporting in glee;
 We'll dive through the waves to the coral halls
 Where the sea-fairies hold their midnight balls!

Come! visit our palace at dead of the night!
 Come! visit our fairy-land, merry and bright!
 Where riches and splendor and happiness dwell;—
 Oh, come!—if you do not, I'll bid you farewell!

FAR AWAY.

Far away, o'er the blue hills far away,
 'Mid the mountains and vales of my own dear home,
 My weary soul wanders through darkness and day,
 And longs for the time of returning to come,
 Far away! far away!

Far away! oh, my hope soars far away
 To a happier home, beyond the blue skies!
 Then may I, when done with this temple of clay,
 Reach that home where the pure in heart will rise,
 Far away! far away!

L.

THE VOICE OF PEACE.

I heard a voice come from a leafy bower,
 I stood, enchanted by its magic power;
 'Twas in the birds' sweet warbling, soft and clear;
 'Twas in the murmuring of the summer breeze;
 'Twas in the rustling foliage of the trees;
 In those sweet sounds it whispered, "Peace is here!"

I heard a voice come from a cottage hearth,
 Where sate a peasant group, in happy mirth,
 Singing their rustic song, devoid of fear.
 And, as I slowly trod my thoughtful way,
 It rose, and with the cotter's evening lay
 It loudly, gladly warbled, "Peace is here!"

I heard a voice come from the churchyard's gloom;
 From the dread calmness of the silent tomb;
 It wandered through the foliage dry and sere;
 'Twas where the willow's weeping branches wave
 Above the lonely stillness of the grave;
 And mournfully it echoed, "Peace is here!"

After a while some of those pieces were inserted in a paper which was formerly published in the city. This was the first time the writer had appeared in print, and she had, of course, a due appreciation of the honor, to which she had looked as something quite unattainable.

A little article of hers, entitled the "Voice of Peace," received in the same paper an elegant *puff*, or one which would have been elegant, had it not been spoiled by a ludicrous typographical error. It was mentioned as being written by "a young lady of thirteen," who was beyond a doubt "inspired by the *nurses*" instead of "*muses*."

The Diving-Bell was discontinued on account of the family again breaking up. Several of its contributors wrote for the Offering after its commencement, although none of them yet have become, and probably do not expect to be "great characters among the folks."

The writer became a member of the first Improvement Circle in Lowell, after it was established. She well remembers the first evening she met with them. She had a deep sense of her inferiority, for they were all young ladies, while she was but a child; and when, after they had read their sensible and well-written articles, she was called upon to read her poor little piece, commencing so loftily, "What a noble and

beautiful thing is mind!" it really seemed as though she would have an ague fit. But she soon got over that, and became as bold as almost any of them.

When the Offering was started, she was living in her native town, but returned a few weeks afterwards. One article of hers, entitled "My Burial Place," was inserted in the first series. When the "Operatives' Magazine" was commenced, being well acquainted with its writers and publishers, she lent it the aid of her effusions. Since the Magazine and Offering were united, she has been a constant contributor. She has written because she loved to write, because it pleased her friends, and because she thought the object a good one. And, in conclusion, she craves the reader's pardon (if she has one) for the foolish things she may have said of herself, and claims the printer's thanks for sparing his "I's."

L. L.

LINES ADDRESSED TO MY MOTHER DURING ABSENCE.

Mother, thy child is lonely now,
 And fain would she recall
 The moments when her childish brow
 Was free from sorrow's pall.
 I'm weary of this loneliness,
 This solitude of heart,
 My spirit finds a wilderness
 Whence it would fain depart.

I care not for the festive hall,
 The brilliant and the fair;
 Their mirth is but a mockery all,
 'Twill never bind me there.
 Give me one hour within my home,
 Beside my mother's knee;
 'Tis better far than sleepless nights
 In halls of revelry.

It seems but yesterday since I
 Clung closely to thy side,
 In infant glee, nor dreamed of care
 And its dark heaving tide.
 Oft hast thou watched, nor tho't of rest,
 Beside my weary bed,
 And pillowed on thy tender breast
 My aching drooping head.

Oft 'neath the mantle of thy love,
 At eve, I've sunk to rest,
 While innocence, like that above,
 Was cradled in my breast.
 Pure as the robe that winter wears
 Was my young spirit then,
 Nor trace was found, where troubling Care's
 Dull step had ever been.

Mother, I feel a change hath come
 Upon my spirit now,
 Hope over life's blue arch hath flung
 Wide her resplendent bow.
 This earth appears all beautiful
 Clad in her radiant smile,
 'Tis the bright gleam that Heaven hath given,

Our pathway to beguile;
 And in this heart are yearnings deep
 For all that's pure and high,
 A void which all the mists of time
 Can never satisfy.

And thou, too, mother! thou art changed,
 Time's withering hand hath strewn
 Sere leaves of age about thy path;
 And that sweet kindly tone,
 That voice so full of tenderness,
 I seem to hear it now,
 Mingles a sad and mournful strain
 That tells of hopes laid low.

Thy silvered hair, thy bended form,
 And faltering step proclaim
 That darkening change hath passed o'er thee,
 For thou art not the same
 As in the days of early youth,
 When from thy soul-lit eye
 Beamed joy and hope; and sunny hours
 On golden wings flew by.

But art thou changed? Changed! No: to me
 Thou art the very same
 As when in hours of infant glee
 I learned to lisp thy name,
 And on the altar of my heart
 Thy love-fires glow as bright
 As when they first were kindled there
 In childhood's golden light.

No; tell me not that change can come
 Upon the faithful heart;
 A mother's deep and ardent love
 Is of herself a part;
 It slumbers not in the cold grave,
 It may not heed Death's chains,
 And, till her sun of being sets,
 A mother's love remains.

M. A.

THE SPIDER AND THE FLIES.

A cunning spider, having one day spread his fly-trap at the entrance of his dwelling, seated himself in his easy chair, to doze away the time until he should hear the welcome sounds of his victims. He had not long to wait, however, before he heard the merry tones of the flies, and well he knew that the alluring temptation which he had spread for them would beguile them from their path. So he arose and stretched his lazy limbs, and walked to the door, and there he beheld a number of them sipping the delicious juices. Then the old fellow rubbed his hands in ecstasies of delight, as he saw them getting more and more entangled in the silken meshes of his web; for he knew he should reap a rich harvest. And what cared he for the suffering of the poor creatures, so long as he stripped them of all they possessed?

But, Mr. Spider, beware! A day will come with you when you may not be able to settle the accounts against you.

ELIZABETH.

LETTER FROM VERMONT.

BURLINGTON, VT., May —, 1845.

Dear H.,—As I have a few leisure moments this beautiful May morning, I will tell about my visit to Plattsburg. But first let me tell about something nearer home. How I wish you were here with me this minute, to drink in the grandeur of Champlain scenery! From the window at which I am scribbling, you can see up the lake, down the lake, and across the lake. Brother's house is very pleasantly situated on College Street, one mile from the University, which is at the head of the street, and twenty rods from the shore of Champlain. The street is so straight that you can see its extreme points with their respective terminations from any part of it. Yesterday I went to church, and listened to an indifferent sermon. The singing was good. One female sang exquisitely. I have never heard a better singer, excepting my own dear sis, Mrs. L. My statistical knowledge of Burlington is very limited. I should judge there were about as many inhabitants as there are in Haverhill, Mass. (four thousand), though the village occupies much more ground, being less compact. I believe there are about half as many shepherds of Israel here as there were apostles of the primitive faith. This is a small number in a place where there are thirty lawyers to dog the flock, and half a score of physicians to butcher. That there *are* thirty-two limbs of the law seems most too much to believe, but I have been told so. Burlington is a very eligible place in a commercial point of view, and the docks present a scene of activity and enterprise, as there are steamboats, sloops, or some kind of water craft coming and going the most of the time.

But methinks it is time to dismiss these digressive preliminaries, and hasten to tell you about my visit to Plattsburg. I went there with a young friend, a girl about eleven years of age. Mr. L. would have been my companion, but he had just returned from Montreal so fatigued that I could not insist upon his going, therefore contented myself with the company of his daughter, which proved to be very good. The morning was unusually fine, and we went aboard of the Winooski (a steamboat which makes daily trips between Burlington and Plattsburg) about seven o'clock A.M., with hearts as light as the down of a thistle. (Some ladies squirm most dreadfully at the idea of going anywhere without a gentleman's arm to hook up to. For one I am no stickler for the etiquette of society; and as for feeling any repugnance on the account of danger, why it is absurd. I could willingly go from Tallahassee to Quebec "all alone," if occasion called. We may become custom-hardened to almost everything but eating clamshell soup. It is a serious fact that I seldom have a gentleman to go and come with, or, if I do, it is a sister's husband or a spouse-to-be of some friend. Now who will dissent from the point I have tried to elucidate in view of this self-evident position? Lest my long parenthesis should too much retard the progress of my story, I'll make my mark here.)

The sun had risen in unclouded splendor, and was now pouring down a flood of golden light on the woody and wild scenery which environed us. No breeze crept over the "guardian mountains" of Champlain strong enough to rock the "patriot's cradle and the soldier's grave"; but all was calm as the hush of contentment, or the Sea of Galilee after the great Captain had spoken, "Peace, be still," to the turbulent waves. You may readily imagine what my sensations were, as this was the first time I had ever been in a steamboat, and this, too, on Lake Champlain, the scene of glorious warfare, and also hallowed by the memory of Lucretia and Margaret Davidson. Well might the younger write, when away from home:—

"Thy verdant banks, thy lucid stream,
Lit by the sun's resplendent beam,
Reflect each bending tree so light
Upon thy bounding bosom bright;
Could I but see thee once again,
My own, my beautiful Champlain."

The beautiful islands that peep up from amidst the shining waters reposed upon the tremulous breast of the lake, like diamonds on the bosom of a queen, while the forest-crowned mountains on the Vermont side cast their shadows in the mirror below, in picturesque beauty and distinctness. It was too early in the season for the shores to be adorned with dense shrubbery and flowers of every perfume and hue, yet there was a newness of beauty, a harmony of coloring, which made amends for these, and perhaps imparted more elasticity of spirit than could be enjoyed in a trip in July or August.

We made one landing-place, and this was at Port Kent, a small village of minor importance and of small attractions. The distance from Burlington to Plattsburg is twenty-five miles, and Port Kent half-way between. Arrived at Plattsburg before ten, where we found much going on in the shape of loading and unloading. However, amidst all this precious bustle, we were soon furnished with a carriage, which carried us to the Mansion House, I believe, while the beautiful Winooski wheeled eastward, and puffed, pawed, and snorted away in the direction of Grand Isle.

The first thing that took my attention when we commenced our search for the lions of the place was the ancient look which scowled upon us wherever we turned our eyes. There are some massy granite buildings, but they indicate more wealth than good taste. Flower gardens and ornamental trees are few and far between. Nevertheless Plattsburg is a place well worth visiting, if for nothing but the valuable associations interwoven with its history. The place where Sir George Provost led up his formidable forces against the American works, and was so valiantly repulsed by an inconsiderable body of militia under the command of General Macomb, cannot fail to excite our interest. Possessing, as it does, superior advantages for commerce, with a fine country stretching back of it, why does its appearance represent so little public spirit and thrift? It is pleasantly situated on each side of the Saranac, which pours its waters into Cumberland Bay, where the fleet of MacDonough was moored when the British squadron was seen approaching them in battle array. All readers are familiar with this naval engagement, or ought to be. MacDonough's victory on Lake Champlain, Sept. 11, 1814.

We walked by the house formerly owned and occupied by Dr. Oliver Davidson, and noted for being the birth-place and home of Lucretia and Margaret Davidson. Alas! for that beautiful fabric of fancy I had reared up from the description given by Margaret, of her "darling home," "the old mansion so dear," "the dear old home," etc. And is this all that remains of the "neat cottage which peeped forth from the surrounding foliage the image of rural quiet and contentment"? Where is the "old-fashioned piazza which extended along the front, shaded with vines and honeysuckles, and the wild rose and sweetbriar that twined over the neat enclosure"? I had thought to contemplate a venerable-looking cottage, romantically nestled down amidst rich old shrubbery that was trained by hands now mouldering with the dust of the valley; but instead of this I saw an unsightly house, perched upon the high bank of the Saranac, which looked as though the winds of seventy winters had whistled through its perforated walls. The window glass was broken in many places, and recourse was had to old hats, pants, and jackets for substitution. One window at the end of the house was gone,—sash, frame, pane, and putty. There, at that window, thought I, perhaps Lucretia composed some of her sweetest poems, though it did not look as though it could ever have been a favorite re-

treat of the muse immortal. Oh, if the departed are permitted to take cognizance of earthly scenes, how must the spirits of Lucretia and Margaret weep "such tears as angels weep," when hovering over the once beautiful, but now forlorn, mansion. In a poem which Margaret wrote in 1838, she gives us some intimation of decay in these lines:—

"Oh, my loved home, how gladly would I rove
Amid thy soft retreats, and from decay
Protect thy mouldering mansion, tend thy flowers,
Prune the wild boughs, and there, in solitude,
Listless remain, unknowing and unknown."

In the same poem she says,—

"Before the threshold
Tower the lofty trees."

There are still four poplars before the house, "rocking to the murmur breeze," but they look old and forsaken.

From this place I proceeded to the village burying-ground. I was told by a resident that none of the family were buried there; but Margaret, in one of her poems addressed to her native village, wrote,—

"There a sister reposes unconscious in death";

and from this I inferred that Lucretia's grave must be there. It is situated in a retired spot, a little out of the village. As we approached it, we saw a funeral procession, the largest I ever beheld, winding down the hill, with solemn tread and slow, to deposit the remains of a beloved friend in the grave. We followed the men, women, and children of sable weeds to the newly made grave, and saw the coffin let down, there to remain

"When granite moulders, and when records fail."

Some very appropriate remarks were made by the minister, and then all turned and went away.

I had no trouble about finding the resting-place of Lucretia, but went directly to it as if by instinct. The grave is enclosed by a wooden paling, and has a cone monument of unobtrusive dimensions. On the west side you read, "Lucretia M. Davidson was born Sep. 27, 1808, and died Aug. 27, 1825, aged 16 years and 11 months." Upon the south side is,—

"Beauty and innocence lie here, whose breath
Was snatched by early not untimely death."

and

"We laid her in the cold damp earth
When autumn cast the leaf,
And we wept that one so lovely
Should have a lot so brief."

"Yet not unmeet it was that one,
 Like this young friend of ours,
 So gentle and so beautiful,
 Should perish with the flowers."

Below are these words, few and unassuming, yet how pathetic, "This monument was raised as a testimony of affection, by her mourning father." At the foot of the grave stands a rose-bush and a sweetbriar, which have attained considerable maturity and height, yet were budding out fresh and fair. Within the enclosure are many "wee flowers of the heather," looking up with their innocent blue eyes from amidst the grass; and scattered about are their pale-faced sisters, the strawberry blossoms. I plucked some of them, which I will enclose to you in this letter. It was a quiet, meet, and sacred spot. "Put off thy shoes from thy feet, for the place on which thou standest is holy ground." I felt it to be so. A sacredness seemed to be infused into the air I breathed, and I almost feared that I should profane so consecrated a spot.

A few paces from this stand two pine-trees, sentinel like, sighing a mournful requiem over the ashes of those who fell in Plattsburg on the memorable day, Sept. 11, 1814. I believe I counted near twenty graves. Here are friend and foe sleeping as peaceably, side by side, as members of one household. No thirst for military distinction will ever animate their breasts, and urge them on to deeds of valor, or feelings of revenge quicken those who are gathered to the harvest of death. Long will their swords and muskets hang up in the halls of their children, sad memorials of their tragical exit.

While I was standing by the graves, a passage in Byron's "Age of Bronze" forcibly struck my mind. Do you remember it?

"But where are they—the rivals?—a few feet
 Of sullen earth divide each winding sheet.
 How peaceful and how powerful is the grave
 Which hushes all,—a calm unstormy wave
 Which oversweeps the world! The theme is old,
 Of 'dust to dust,' but half its tale untold.
 Time tempers not its terrors; still the worm
 Winds its cold folds, the tomb preserves its form,
 Varied above, but still alike below,
 The urn may shine, the ashes will not glow."

Between the pine-trees and equidistant from each is the grave of George Dounie, who was a post-captain in the Royal British Navy, and fell on board one of his Britannic Majesty's ships in attacking the American flotilla at Cumberland Bay, Sept. 11, 1814. His monument is a plain marble slab, raised horizontally on a granite base. Near his tomb are two monuments for American officers, which are similar. I have forgotten their names. It was a thick cluster of gravestones, but

some of them were of the most humble size. I should think this was a scene of more pilgrimage than the grave of Lucretia Davidson, by the looks of the grass and the battered corners of the monuments. I regret that I had no pencil with me on the spot so as to take down the names of those whose memory should be perpetuated. There was one inscribed Jackson and another Hale. The others I have forgotten.

As my letter is getting to be long, I will leave the rest to tell some other time. Till then I subscribe myself,

Yours with much esteem,

M. R. G.

P.S.—Monday evening. We have just returned from a drive to Burlington Falls, or Winooski Village, as it is called. It is a little romantic-looking place, cuddled down within a circlet of hills; and what do you suppose I saw there? A *cotton mill*, so I guess there are factory girls in these regions. Wonder if they have any "Lowell Offering." We passed by a graveyard, where, I was told, Ethan Allen is buried. I wanted to go in and see the grave of the hero of Ticonderoga, but could not stop.

M.

"CHANGE IS WRITTEN UPON ALL THINGS."

In our lightest or happiest moments we cannot forget that everything of earth is changing or "passing away." This ruthless law is imprinted upon all the varying forms of nature; and we see it indelibly impressed, also, on all the works of man. We look on the earth, clothed in the green verdure and beauty of summer. The waving forest, the rich fruit-trees, and the fanciful garden, all glisten before us; but, while we are gazing, the change comes, the brilliancy fades, the but now beauteous scene lies hid and withering beneath the snow-clad robes of winter.

If we look abroad or muse upon the works of man, how forcibly are we reminded of their changing and fleeting nature! Although the labor of thousands of human beings have been expended upon the works of art, yet decay has stamped her signet upon them, and they are fast passing away.

Vicissitude, which comes upon all things else, comes also upon society. Do we rely upon the ties of friendship and love? Alas, how frail is the support! We see our friends and acquaintances busily pursuing the career of life, some of them in the strength and vigor of youth, full of hope and activity; but they are gone! No ties could retain, nor love save them; for the Power that changed is omnipotent. There are changes from which no money can purchase our exemption, which no wisdom can avert. Death! the consummation of all earthly mutability,—what a change is this! "The wheel at the cistern is broken," and the once animated being becomes cold and insensible. The heart

no longer glows with affection, the voice is hushed, and the countenance, that but lately beamed with expression, is naught but a marble image; but the spirit which gave to the frail form its life is not dead, but has only changed the place of its abode.

Thus are we taught not to place our affections too fondly upon things that perish, but to cherish those feelings which will fit us for that world where no change comes except in constant improvement, and where the bright ages of eternity will cast no shadow, but roll on in unceasing happiness.

J. S. W.

LIVE LIKE THE FLOWERS.

Cheerfully wave they o'er valley and mountain,
Cheer the lone desert, and smile by the fountain;
Pale discontent in no young blossom lowers,—
Live like the flowers.

Meekly their buds in the heavy rain bending;
Softly their hues with the mellow light blending;
Gratefully welcoming sunlight and showers,—
Live like the flowers.

Freely their sweets on the wild breezes flinging,
While in their depths are new odors upspringing,
Twofold their wealth, ev'n as Love's holy dowers,—
Live like the flowers.

Gladly they heed who their brightness hath given;
Blooming on earth, look they up to heaven;
Humbly look up from their loveliest bowers,—
Live like the flowers.

Peacefully droop they when Autumn is sighing,
Spreading mild fragrance around them when dying;
Sleep they in hope of Spring's freshening hours,—
Die like the flowers.

L. L.

LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

Miss Farley,—Having just returned from New York, I hasten to fulfil my promise, and give you my first impressions of that far-famed city. I left Cambridge in company with Miss B., on the 16th instant, but in no very good humor, I assure you, being sadly afflicted with the toothache. However, determined to put the best foot forward, as the old saying is, we commenced our journey, fully resolved to make the best of everything, and be happy, if possible. And we were happy. Though nothing occurred worthy of notice, we had a very pleasant

journey. There were but few passengers on board the boat, and those so still and orderly I almost fancied myself at home in my own little sanctum. Many thanks are due to Mr. Macy, the gentleman who superintended the affairs of the boat during the absence of the captain (who, I understood, had gone to be married). He was so kind and polite to the ladies, and so gentlemanly in his deportment to all, that he commanded my respect from the first moment I saw him. And for the benefit of those who may chance to travel in that direction, I would cheerfully recommend that they patronize the Neptune, as they will find good accommodations and save their coppers into the bargain.

But to return. We were somewhat disappointed in not having the kindly influences of the moon to cheer us on our way; for, as Mrs. Child says, music and moonlight on the water almost make me crazy. But I suppose it was not right that we should have all the good things at once, or we should undoubtedly have been favored with this very essential requisite to a pleasant ride on the water. However, being somewhat indisposed, and finding that the clouds looked ominous of rain, I left the deck at an early hour, determined, if possible, to resume my station betimes in the morning, and view a sunrise on the water. Nor was I disappointed. Friend Morpheus took me into his care and keeping, until he thought me sufficiently refreshed to take care of my own self, when he took wings and flew away. I accordingly arose, dressed myself, and repaired to the deck. The sun had not risen; but I saw his chariot in the east, and I knew he was near. Nor did I wait long.

For he soon came forth,
Clad in garments of red,
And tinged the blue waves
Of his watery bed.

And what added much to the interest of the scene was the remembrance that it was Sabbath morning. Nor was its solemn stillness disturbed till we reached the pier, when a number of *officious gentlemen* jumped on board, and politely poked their heads into the face of every passenger, with "Have a cab," "Have a coach," "Better take a cab, ma'am." For the benefit of nervous persons, allow me to suggest the propriety of beginning to say no, no, no, the moment you reach the pier, and keeping it up without intermission till a man of the reins to your liking presents himself, when you can easily say yes, and away you will go, helter-skelter, over the rocky pavements and through the long streets of Gotham, which serve as dining-halls for the four-footed gentry about town.

But I am digressing, and will proceed forthwith to give you my first impressions of New York, which I must say were favorable; for, although I think there is much room for improvement, still I would prefer this city to Boston. Its streets are much wider, and the facilities for travelling far better than in Boston. Fare is so cheap that you can

go three miles for sixpence, York money, and that, too, at any time in the day, while in Boston you must pay twice that amount. But another reason why I like New York is that the people are so free and social, so that, go where you will, you are sure to find a hearty welcome. I think they are anything but selfish. Indeed, I would not ask or expect to be more kindly treated, even by my own friends, than I was while I stayed there, especially by Mr. W. and his family, who kindly welcomed us to their house during our stay in the city. But the greatest thing that I dislike here is that they keep their streets so dirty, arranging them more for the accommodation of the New York porkers than for any other circle of aristocrats. I think the city must be blind to its own interest, or it would not allow such a state of things.

And now I must give you a brief sketch of the few places we saw while there, time not permitting us to visit as much as we would like to have done. I think the first place we went to was the Tombs, where humanity was degraded quite as low as I, for one, could wish to see it. The narrow damp cells looked so gloomy and cheerless that I thought it would be sufficient punishment to know I must sleep there when dead, without being confined within its dreary walls while yet a tenant of earth. The prisoners, for the most part, looked degraded and unhappy. Most of their foreheads were very low, and even what little they had was so covered with hair that it seemed as though they were more akin to the brute creation than to noble, thinking man. But there was one exception, that of Babe, the pirate, whose open, intelligent countenance arrested my attention. He looked so much neater than the rest that I thought he did not belong there, but supposed that he had taken a seat in one of the cells just to see how it would seem as the door was open; but I soon found out my mistake. There is a sadness in his countenance which would at once elicit your sympathy, even though you should deem him guilty; but I understand he has many friends—many who think him innocent.

From the Tombs we proceeded to the arsenal, where we were kindly shown through the different rooms; but I must confess that it very much detracted from my own pleasure to see so many instruments of death and destruction. There were, if I was rightly informed, thirty thousand stands of arms, all ready for our country's service; and one gentleman remarked that he would like an opportunity to use them. Think you there are many who would respond to that wish? Last of all, though not least, we were shown into the trophy-room, where were deposited many relics of military prowess, among which I noticed a piece of the ruins of Ticonderoga, on which I found the following inscription, similar to that in Goodrich's History of the United States. It reads thus: "This fort was taken by Col. Ethan Allen from the British, on the third of May, 1775, in the name of the GREAT JEHOVAH, and the Continental Congress." In another place we saw this inscription: "Surrender of General Burgoyne, Oct. 17, 1777, with 5,790 men and 35 pieces of artillery." We saw many field-pieces taken

from the British in that battle, all of which were marked with the English crown. We also saw several Indian snow-shoes. But time would fail me to tell you all, so I will not attempt it.

Our next trip was to Brooklyn; and here we anticipated great pleasure in the prospect of seeing Miss C.; but we were greatly disappointed, as she had gone to Troy to spend two or three weeks. However, we found her residence, and I thought that some consolation for it is certainly a very pretty place. We ascended the heights, directly in front of the house, where we had a delightful view of the harbor, and from which Governor's Island is seen to good advantage, as also many other pretty places. And here I must not forget to tell you how often we have thought of you this summer, and wished for your company, especially while visiting in this vicinity. May we not hope that you will favor us with it, should we come again? But I fear I shall tire your patience, and I will briefly allude to the other places we visited while here, among which were the different parks and parade ground. They are all very pretty, especially Union Park, to which I think I must give the preference. The Battery is also a very interesting place, as you there have a fine view of the harbor and its dense forests of shipping; but it is not so tastefully laid out as other public grounds in the city. I think the fountains are very pretty, and wish we might have some in Lowell.

We have seen the steamer Great Britain several times, but have not been on board. I understand that some two or three thousand visit it every day. It is, I believe, over three hundred feet long, has six masts, and is painted black from stem to stern, which gives it quite a gloomy appearance. Its figure-head, however, is very pretty, representing the lion and the unicorn fighting for the crown. But the last place we visited, and the prettiest of all, was Hoboken. It is truly an enchanting place. No wonder they call it Elysium: it seemed to me like a fairyland, so beautiful and still, I would like to live there alway. I was somewhat disappointed in Sybil's cave: it is not nearly as large as I expected, but it has an excellent well of water in the centre, of which you may partake by paying a penny a glass. So much for the monopoly of this place. The scenery on the Hudson is very beautiful, and much did I regret my inability to sketch landscape as I stood upon its banks. But now the impression is on my own heart only. Would that I could daguerreotype it for you.

Thus much for New York. And now I would like to say a word about the *natives* before I close. I find they manifest great respect for the Yankees, and can tell one the moment they see him. One morning Miss B. and myself took a walk down town, and, while there, went into a shop kept by a German, I should judge from his dialect. Well, having made a few purchases, we turned to go out, when he accosted us with, "Are you from Connecticut?" "No," replied Miss B., "but we are Yankees." "So I thought," returned the shopkeeper, "and I like Yankees. They know how to take care of the coppers." We

thought he knew how to do the same, the way he tried to pocket the half cent. They also speak very highly of the operatives. One gentleman said he gloried in the factory girls. I suppose he meant their spunk, don't you?

I forgot to tell you how near I came losing Miss B. She made quite a bargain with a certain— Oh, but I must not tell any more. If I do, she will pull my ears. I will save the rest till I see you. I would like to say many other things, but it will not do. I fear I have already trespassed on your patience.

We had a delightful journey home, and, what was better than all the rest, we had a thunder-storm on the water. Oh, it was sublime! But I cannot describe it. I very much regret that we did not learn the names of the different places that we passed, as I should like to speak of them here; but the passengers did not know any more about it than I did. As for me I forgot, for the time being, what my good mother used to say, that little children should be seen and not heard. So I asked a great many questions; but I suppose they took it from whence it came—at least I hope so.

Yours affectionately,

E. W. J.

AN ALLEGORY.

One beautiful morning I arose early to take a walk through the fields which Nature had clothed with her green carpet. As I passed by the trees of the forest, I heard the warbling of the birds, which filled my heart with delight. Their sweet songs seemed to invite me to take a seat at the foot of the tree where they had built their nest. I complied with their request. While in this state I heard thunder above, and I felt the rain descending upon my face. And all the while I was considerably heated. By this extreme heat I was awakened, and to my great surprise I learned that the thunder which I before heard was nothing but the buzzing of a bee around my head, and that which I thought before was rain proved to be a perspiration caused by the hot rays of the sun, which shone directly upon me.

D.

SOLITUDE.

What's solitude? Has earth a spot
Of mount or desert, glen or grot,
Unknown by man, by Heaven forgot,
Where one may flee,
And there, alone, unloved, unsought,
Forever be?

'Tis solitude amid the throng,
 In courts or halls, 'mid mirth and song,
 Where fairy figures glide along,
 And perfumes roll,
 To find in all that crowd not one
 Congenial soul.

'Tis solitude to dwell alone,
 When friends prove false, and one by one
 Those whom we loved in youth have gone
 Down to the tomb,
 And flowers we reared and loved so long
 Have ceased to bloom.

To sit alone at close of day,
 And watch the sun's last parting ray,
 And hear the night bird's plaintive lay
 From some lone wood,
 And think of loved ones far away,
 Is solitude.

MARA.

EDITORIAL.

THE "FACTORY GIRLS" AND THEIR MAGAZINE. But one number of the Offering intervenes between this and the last; and, as there are always so many last words to say, we have concluded to "take Time by the forelock," and commence in this number something like a summary of what has been done, and add *the commencement of the conclusion*, if that is not a paradox.

We have at this moment upon our table one of the first numbers of the Offering,—a large, thin, awkward-looking object, with a yellow cover and double-columned pages. Upon the first page of the cover we read the following:—

"THE LOWELL OFFERING. *A repository of original articles on various subjects, written by Factory Operatives.* 'Full many a gem,' etc. No. 1. Price 6½ cents. THIS NUMBER WHOLLY WRITTEN BY FEMALES EMPLOYED IN THE MILLS."

We have particularly emphasized this because we consider it worthy of particular attention. "THIS number," intimating a doubt whether a continuation of the magazine could be expected from the females, unassisted by their *brethren* in the mills, or indeed whether even one more number would be issued from them, but containing the assurance, at that time astonishing to almost every one, that *this* number is indeed *wholly* written by "females employed in the mills."

And under the circumstances it was a reasonable doubt. We shared it with him who was then the editor, and doubtless many of the other contributors shared it with us. We saw what we had done; but we had not learned confidence in ourselves, and felt no assurance that we could go on.

The public were taken by surprise. "There is mind among the spindles," was the dawning thought of many, who had never thought before of "the wheel within the wheels"; of the soul, active, ardent, expansive as their own, which was the tenant of some prisoned body in those mills. The caste of the factory girl had been lowest among female laborers. To overcome the prejudice against mill labor high wages had been given. Necessity and cupidity proved too strong for pride and prejudice. The manufactories of New England filled with the young, blooming, energetic, and intelligent of its country maidens; the inhabitants of these places saw and recognized the worth of these girls; they associated with them, they publicly noticed them, they married with them. If they returned to their secluded homes, they were perhaps, thought more of, rather than looked down upon; and yet it seems that even then there was not due credit given to the intellectual gifts and attainments of this class, and that they might aspire, as factory girls, to a place with the refined and literary. They might "drop the operative": they might enter into some other employment, and, discarding all their former associates with that employment, force themselves into a place which would be conceded to them with more or less reluctance, according to circumstances and the peculiar character of that circle in which they would wish to gain entrance.

But abroad there was still gross injustice done to the character of the factory girl. Intellectually and morally she was degraded. She was represented as constantly and unavoidably subjected to influences which must destroy her purity and self-respect. The contamination of the vicious was at her side and before her eyes: in the eyes of her overseer she was but a brute or a slave, to be beaten or pinched or pushed about. Such were the opinions and prejudices of those who could not see for themselves. Widows and orphans heard of the high wages regularly paid, and "given in cash," by the manufacturers, and they were tempted; but they heard, also, of other things which made their veins chill, and they sat shivering at their cold hearths, and patched again their torn garments, with an abhorrence for "the prosperity of the wicked," which was worthy of all respect. Was it not meet that something should be done to enlighten the public with regard to this thing?

Brothers, at the West and South of this Union, blushed to say that their sisters were factory girls, and dared not attempt a vindication of their innocence, happiness, and intelligence. And many then—many now—who would willingly submit to the toil, confinement, and weariness of a factory life were deterred from it, and kept in some even more irksome and less lucrative employment, on account of the prejudices of their friends—either near or remote. We have known instances ourself, and we now know of the wife of a professor, not far from our own city, who does not confess that she was once a factory girl. We know of many who try to forget it, and, to make others believe that they have, will look at a factory girl as though she was to them a *lusus naturæ*.

There was another wrong in allowing these prejudices to exist, and that was their depressing influence upon the operatives themselves. It is a fact that we are stimulated to worthy actions when we know they are expected of us: we are discouraged when we know that we are considered incapable. Perhaps the majority of females assume that character, as they enter womanhood, which seems to be imposed by the tone of society about them. And, viewed in this light, was there not, a few years since, much that was unfavorable in the situation of the factory girl? After she had become habituated to her employment, what was there to develop her powers? If she had friends dependent upon her exertions, her affections were preserved strong and pure by their constant action. The religious emotions were developed by the class of preachers who came to minister unto them. But there were few outward influences favorable to the intellect, or tending directly to awaken the latent powers of the mind. We have sometimes looked upon the new-comers in Lowell, when we have met them in the mill or in the street,—those whose physiognomies were expressive of everything lovely in character,—and, fancying that we could see the dormant mental power which slept beneath the fires of the brilliant eye or on the arch of the polished brow, have felt that we could willingly labor, or, if need be, sacrifice ourself, that these, and such as these, should be preserved amidst the snares and pitfalls that might be in their path—from the temptations within and the temptations without; that every aspiration should be cherished, every passion subjected to reason and conscience; that they should never forget that something was demanded of their higher natures; that they should feel that they must not become wicked, neither must they become weak—not intellectually sluggish, nor indifferent.

But we will now again recur to the commencement of the Offering; and, in doing so, we shall repeat some things stated in former volumes, which old subscribers will excuse, in consideration of the large proportion of recent patrons.

The first publisher of the Offering came from a distant city. He had there heard of factory girls, and listened to their opinion of them. He came, saw, and *questioned* for himself. The result of this investigation was surprise and pleasure. "I saw," said he, "intelligence in their countenances," and he heard it in their conversation. To bring it forth in a more tangible manner, he established The Improvement Circle. It was then a meeting in a vestry, to which anybody and everybody was invited, and for which any one might write unknown, and drop their communications into a "sort o' post-office box, outside the door." This method was happily adapted to the desired result. Much was written, and much that was very good. Some articles evinced cultivated taste and careful education; others, native but uncultured talent and genius. The most interesting writers were sought out, and almost invariably found to be *factory girls*. The females wrote more readily than the males, and the factory operatives were in advance of those engaged in other employments. It was ascertained that mill labor was favorable, rather than otherwise, to reflection and composition. We do not state this as an argument *per se* in favor of factory life, nor would we induce girls to go into a factory to reflect and write, any more than we would suggest to men to go to prison for the same purpose, though "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Don Quixote" are proofs that imprisonment is not always unfavorable to the intellect.

Some of the contributions to the Circle interested its originator so much that he wished all to see them, and banish whatever of prejudice they might have against the factory girl. He thought first of some established paper, then of a little book, and, lastly, the plan was matured to a *magazine*. The number alluded to, in the commencement of this, was a specimen and an experiment. It might not be supported by the public, it might not be sustained by the writers. In truth, some who knew that they would be regarded as regular contributors shrank from the responsibility, and trembled within themselves for the result.

Four numbers were issued, and then it was looked upon as "a successful experiment."

The form was changed to one more neat and tasteful, and better adapted for preservation by binding: subscriptions were taken for the ensuing year, agents were appointed, the gentleman himself edited and published, and the factory girls of Lowell found themselves writing for a regular monthly periodical, which was exciting the wonder of their own and other countries.

And now, when we hear rejoicing over its expected discontinuance, malignant expressions of satisfaction as though it were a *failure*, how should we heed them?

The Offering has done its work. It has accomplished all that it ever proposed. It has more than realized the expectations of its first friends. It has been regularly issued for five years. It has gone from the supervision of a professional gentleman into that of "factory girls," without losing the confidence or good opinion of the public. The doubts of its good faith, which were at first openly expressed, have almost entirely ceased. The exclamation is now not so often heard, "The girls do not write it," and never in our own vicinity. The knowledge of it has been gradually extending to the remote and secluded parts of our own country, and the interest in those distant regions has been very gratifying to its friends. Its exterior has been improved, its permanent list has been upon the constant increase, and its yearly patrons have never numbered so many as they do now. Its writers have never shown so active an interest, and we might say that we leave the Offering "at high tide," but that would imply an expected decrease of prosperity with another year. We have no reason to think but that, with a large list of our old friends, we should have, with another volume, the usual increasing proportion of new subscribers, if we exerted ourselves as actively and cheerfully.

But then "Why do you stop?" is the question continually asked of us; and this is a question that we cannot fully answer to the public. We have various reasons; but it is a pleasant thought to us that it has done all that was primarily expected of it, and even more.

In a pecuniary point of view we cannot complain of it. True, we cannot speak of it as "a fortunate speculation," but we did not speculate, or intend to make a fortune from it. Had good fortune come, we should have welcomed it; and, with the habits and experience of business men, we might have done much better in this respect, as matters have been. But we do not complain. It has supported itself, and has supported us, and very likely better than we should have supported ourselves in any other way.

H. F.

"THE LOWELL OFFERING."

From Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson's "Loom and Spindle."

The *Lowell Offering* was a small, thin magazine of about thirty pages, with one column to the page. The price of the first number was six and a quarter cents. Its title-page was plain, with a motto from Gray, the verse beginning,—

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene."

This motto was used for two years, when another was adopted,—

"Is Saul also among the prophets?"

In January, 1845, the magazine had on its outside cover a vignette, a young girl simply dressed, with feet visible and sleeves rolled up. She had a book in one hand, and her shawl and bonnet were thrown over her arm. She was represented as standing in a very sentimental attitude, contemplating a beehive at her right hand. This vignette was adopted, as the editor said, "To represent the New England school girl, of which our factories are made up, standing near a beehive, emblem of industry and intelligence, and in the background the Yankee school-house, church, and factory." The motto was,—

"The worm on the earth
May look up to the star."

This rather abject sentiment was not suited to the independent spirit of most of the contributors, who did not feel a bit like worms; and in the February number it was changed to one from Bunyan:—

"And do you think the words of your book are certainly true?
"Yea, verily."

The magazine finally died, however, under its favorite motto,—

“Is Saul also among the prophets?”

The title-page, or outside cover, was copyrighted in 1845.

The *Lowell Offering* was welcomed with pleased surprise. It found subscribers all over the country. The *North American Review*, whose literary dictum was more autocratic than it is to-day, indorsed it, and expressed a fair opinion of its literary merit.

The editor, John G. Palfrey, said:—

Many of the articles are such as to satisfy the reader at once that, if he has only taken up *The Offering* as a phenomenon, and not as what may bear criticism and reward perusal, he has but to own his error, and dismiss his condescension as soon as may be.

Charles Dickens, in his “American Notes,” says:—

They have got up among themselves a periodical, called *The Lowell Offering*, whereof I brought away from Lowell four hundred good solid pages, which I have read from beginning to end. Of the merits of *The Lowell Offering*, as a literary production, I will only observe—putting out of sight the fact of the articles having been written by these girls after the arduous hours of the day—that it will compare advantageously with a great many English annuals.

Harriet Martineau prompted a fine review of it in the London *Athe-næum*, and a selection from Volumes I. and II. was published under her direction, called “Mind Among the Spindles.”

This book was issued first in London, in 1844, and republished in Boston in 1845, with an introduction by the English editor, Mr. Knight. In a letter to this gentleman, Miss Martineau said, “I had the opportunity of observing the invigorating effect of “Mind among the Spindles” in a life of labor. Twice the wages and half the toil would not have made the girls I saw happy and healthy without that cultivation of mind which afforded them perpetual support, entertainment, and motive for activity. They were not highly educated; but they had pleasure in books and lectures, in correspondence with home, and had their minds so open to fresh ideas as to be drawn off from thoughts of themselves and their own concerns.”

English friends were particularly kind in their expressions of approval. One said: “*The Lowell Offering* is probably exciting more attention in England than any other American publication. It is talked of in the political as well as in the literary world. . . . It has given rise to a new idea, that there may be mind among the spindles. . . . The book is a stubborn fact.”

President Felton of Harvard University, while in Paris attending a course of lectures on English literature by Philàrète Chastles, heard an entire lecture on the history and literary merits of *The Lowell Offering*.

Thiers, the French historian, carried a volume into the Chamber of Deputies, to show what working-women in a republic could do.

George Sand (Madame Dudevant) thought it a great and wonderful thing that the American mill girls should write and edit a magazine of their own.

“Whenever the history of economic conditions in this country shall be written,” says Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in his introduction to Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson’s “Loom and Spindle,” “the author will express his gratitude for all works giving the details of especial epochs and phases of industrial life. Among them he will find no more interesting experience than that attending the entrance of women to the industrial field. . . . The attractions of good wages and comfortable environment were the inducements held out by American manufacturers at Lowell to secure a class of operatives which should bring success to their experiment. The

prejudice against mill operatives, as shown by investigations in England, would otherwise have delayed the establishment of the factory in America,—that is, the factory as controlled by a central power. With the attractions offered, it was natural that the women of New England should accept situations as weavers, spinners, etc., in the great textile works; but they brought with them their educational and religious training, and, as they were grouped together, it was natural, also, that they should continue the cultivation of their minds, especially under the broadening influences of mental contact."

It was under such conditions and among such New England factory girls that *The Lowell Offering*, written entirely by "female operatives employed in the mills," had its origin in 1840. Dickens's reference to it in his "American Notes," and other conspicuous notices, gave it for a time a unique fame; and, although its life was short, ending in 1845, it was certainly a noteworthy phenomenon while it lasted. The idea of organizing the young women of the Lowell mills for literary and educational purposes was first proposed in 1837 by Miss Harriot F. Curtis, "perhaps the most progressive of all the mill girls." Her account of the first "Improvement Circle" is given in *The Lowell Offering*, January, 1845. One of the best of these circles was that composed of the young people of the First Universalist Church, of which the pastor was Rev. Abel C. Thomas; and Mr. Thomas published a selection from the articles prepared by the young ladies for the meetings of this circle, under the title of "The Lowell Offering." The first series, of four numbers, was issued from October, 1840, to March, 1841; then a new series, *The Lowell Offering* proper, began, a monthly magazine of thirty-two pages, issued regularly by its projector until October, 1842, when it passed into the hands of Miss Curtis and Miss Harriet Farley, both operatives in the mills. There was a similar publication in Lowell called *The Operatives' Magazine*, which was finally merged in *The Lowell Offering*, and this was followed for two or three years by *The New England Offering*, also edited by Miss Farley.

The best account of *The Lowell Offering* is that given by Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson in her "Loom and Spindle," where two chapters are devoted to it, including notices of the various writers, some of whom afterwards acquired literary distinction. Best known among these writers was Lucy Larcom, who devotes a charming chapter to this episode of her life, under the title of "Mill Girls' Magazines," in her "A New England Girlhood." See also the account in the first chapter of the "Life and Letters of Lucy Larcom," by Daniel D. Addison. The number of *The Lowell Offering* chosen for reproduction in the present leaflet—October, 1845—contains the second part of an autobiographical sketch by Lucy Larcom, including several of her poems. The editorial by Miss Farley in this number, on "The Factory Girls and their Magazine," has distinct historical value. The whole of the number is here reprinted, save a lugubrious sketch entitled "The Maniac Mother" and the concluding chapter of a sentimental story entitled "First Love, Alas!" In the November, 1842, number of the *Offering*, is an admirable editorial on the history of *The Lowell Offering*. In the January, 1843, number, is a review of Dickens's "American Notes," which had then just appeared, containing his well-known reference to the little magazine, which gave the mill girls great delight.

PUBLISHED BY

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Gov. Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature.

May 14, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Senate and the House of Representatives:

The occasion demands *action*, and it shall not be delayed by *speech*. Nor do either the people or their representatives need or require to be stimulated by appeals or convinced by arguments. A grand era has dawned, inaugurated by the present great and critical exigency of the nation, through which it will providentially and triumphantly pass, and, soon emerging from apparent gloom, will breathe a freer inspiration in the assured consciousness of vitality and power. Confident of our ultimate future, confident in the principles and ideas of democratic republican government, in the capacity, conviction, and manly purpose of the American people, wherever liberty exists and republican government is administered under the purifying and instructing power of free opinion and free debate, I perceive nothing now about us which ought to discourage the good or to alarm the brave.

But the occurrence of public events universally known and needing no repetition here has compelled the constitutional government of our Federal Union to assert its rightful powers for the protection of its own integrity, and the maintenance of the honor, rights, and liberties of the whole people, by an appeal to the stout hearts and the strong right arms of all loyal States and patriotic men.

Massachusetts, by the unanimous acclaim of her million and a quarter of people, has already inspired every department of her

own public service with her traditional sentiment of perfect devotion to the cause of that common country which her successive generations have helped either to create or to support. And it is now only with a view to securing the aid and co-operation of the legislative branch, and in order to carry out more perfectly and more consistently with the system of our constitutional distribution of powers the measures requisite to a full performance of our duty as a State of the Union, that I have ventured to recall the members of the General Court from their private duties so speedily after the close of a laborious session.

Gentlemen, this is no war of sections,—no war of North on South. It is waged to avenge no former wrongs, nor to perpetuate ancient griefs or memories of conflict. It is the struggle of the people to vindicate their own rights, to retain and invigorate the institutions of their fathers,—the majestic effort of a National Government to vindicate its power and execute its functions for the welfare and happiness of the whole; and therefore, while I do not forget, I will not name to-day that "*subtle poison*" which has lurked always in our national system. And I remember, also, at this moment, that, even in the midst of rank and towering rebellion, under the very shadow of its torch and axe, there are silent but loyal multitudes of citizens of the South who wait for the national power to be revealed and its protecting flag unfurled for their own deliverance.

The guns pointed at Fort Sumter on the twelfth day of April, while they reduced the material edifice and made prisoners of its garrison, announced to Anderson and his men their introduction into the noble army of heroes of American history; and the cannon of the fort, as they saluted the American flag, when the vanquished garrison—unconquerable in heart—retired from the scene, saluted the immortal Stripes and Stars, flaming out in ten times ten thousand resurrections of the flag of Sumter, on hilltop, staff, and spire, hailed by the shouts and the joyful tears of twenty millions of freemen.

The proclamation of the President, summoning the rebels to disperse and the loyal militia to rally to the support of the National Capitol, menaced by Secessionists, was immediately followed in this State by a movement of four regimental commands of infantry, a battalion of rifles, and another of light artillery (all from the "Active Volunteer Militia" of Massachusetts), which, under all its circumstances of celerity of motion, promptness of obedience, and brilliancy of results, is unexampled

in anything I remember elsewhere of the conduct of citizen soldiery. The telegraphic call from the Department at Washington for two regiments reached the Executive of Massachusetts on the morning of Monday, the 15th of April, and was soon expanded into a call for four regiments. Availing ourselves of the organization happily existing in this Commonwealth partially prepared for active duty, and of the flexibility of our militia system, and with the aid of the legislation of this year permitting its indefinite numerical enlargement and the expansion of its companies to the full army size of sixty-four privates, together with the steps already taken to anticipate possible exigencies of the sort, and with the advantages of previous drill, discipline, and moral preparation induced by means of a General Order, promulgated to the militia in the month of January, the patriotic ardor and generous devotion of the people found means of efficient and prompt response. The telegraphic messages from Washington convinced me that no small reliance was placed on this Commonwealth to be early in the field, and, moreover, that no delay whatever would be consistent with the urgent demands of the public safety. Nor was any delay permitted. Every officer, civil and military, according to his position and means of usefulness, and many private citizens, with various aid, co-operated with the Commander-in-Chief; and by nine o'clock, on the Sabbath morning following the Monday on which the first telegram was received, the whole number of regiments demanded from Massachusetts were already either in Washington or in Fortress Monroe, or on their way to the defence of the National Capitol. Colonel Jones, at the head of the regimental command, of which the Sixth Regiment of the Massachusetts line was the nucleus, had already cut his way through a hostile and assailing force. His men, shedding their blood in the streets of Baltimore, and illustrating the quality of our arms by a movement as skilful as it was brave, had extricated themselves from their sudden and strange peril, and were already steadying the government, and actually garrisoned in the Senate Chamber of the Union. General Butler, gallantly following as rapidly as possible in company with the regiment under Munroe, to assume command in his capacity of brigadier over the Massachusetts men, had reached Philadelphia, where he heard of the attack upon the 6th, while it was yet in progress. Interrupted in his march by this new turn of affairs and the breach in the modes of travel and communication, it became necessary for the mo-

ment that our troops should seek another route to Washington, and also to endeavor to prevent the important post and position of Annapolis from seizure and its inhabitants from demoralization. These new necessities created a demand for other arms, to accompany the infantry which alone had been ordered from Washington; and a battalion of rifles, under the command of Major Devens, of Worcester (reinforced by the rifle corps of Captain Briggs from Pittsfield), and the Boston battalion of Light Artillery under Major Cook, were put into immediate requisition, and accompanied the infantry command under Colonel Lawrence, of which the Fifth Regiment of our line is the nucleus. The urgency of the occasion and the telegram of General Butler from Philadelphia, requesting artillery, and the military reasons palpably establishing the necessity of aiming at the substantial right, to the postponement of ceremonies or forms, convinced me that I ought to take the responsibility of putting these additional arms in motion, and of providing the requisite means for their equipment and transportation. This force arrived at New York on Sunday night, and sailed in two steamers on Monday, the 22d, for Annapolis, whither they had been preceded by Butler with Munroe's command from Philadelphia. On the preceding Saturday the Old Colony command, made up in part of Colonel Packard's and in part of Colonel Wardrop's regiments, had arrived at Fortress Monroe, Packard in the "State of Maine" steamer, by way of Fall River, and Wardrop in the steamer "Spaulding," directly from Boston. On the very day of their arrival, Wardrop's command had been put on board the United States steamer, the "Pawnee," and had left the fortress to assist in a brilliant movement, both of danger and success, in the destruction of United States vessels and military stores at Gosport Navy Yard, then menaced, and in immediate danger of falling into the hands of the public enemies. The saving of the venerable ship-of-war "Constitution," the "*Old Ironsides*" of our familiar speech and affectionate memories, is one of the happy omens and one of the first illustrations of that series of actions and events which characterized the conduct and enterprise of our soldiers after the landing at Annapolis, holding the post, saving another ship-of-war endangered from Baltimore, rebuilding a railroad, reconstructing locomotives, opening up the communication between Washington and Philadelphia, at the same time that they were enduring the hitherto untried deprivations of a camp, and the hardships

incident to a soldier's career, for which the suddenness of their call had permitted no adequate preparation.

The contracts and expenditures incidental to this movement of troops, to obtaining and arranging their final equipment, whether of arms or clothing, to their subsistence, and general comfort and protection, have been unhesitatingly incurred, in firm reliance upon the support and sympathy of the people and the approval of the legislature. Nor—in view of the known inadequacy of the national stores—have the Governor and Council hesitated to anticipate coming wants and to provide for military stores, clothing, and equipments as rapidly as possible, not only to supply current needs and to repair existing deficiencies, but to meet the certain demands of the approaching summer.

I cannot doubt that, to some extent, the suddenness of our necessary action, the novelty of our situation, and the fact of the inexperience of our whole people in the arts of war and the wants of camp life have exposed us all to some mistakes, to some loss of material, to some misadaptation of means to ends, and some oversight of economies possible to better opportunities or to greater experience. But I am confident that the service has been conducted by all its agents and departments with zealous care and honest effort to command success in the work of economy, not less than in the more brilliant and attractive spheres of gallant enterprise. The disbursements in the military service, which had been made up to the close of business yesterday, were:—

For subsistence	\$40,222.34
Clothing	90,823.92
Equipments	30,565.78
Transportation of troops	43,260.38
One-half of steamer "Cambridge"	45,000.00
One-half of steamer "Pembroke"	17,500.00
Telegraphing	272.76
	<hr/>
	\$267,645.18

To these expenditures may be added (besides the amount of the contemplated purchase of arms in Europe) about \$100,000 more, to cover contracts for clothing and equipments now in progress, to meet present and future wants. Of all these contracts and disbursements more detailed statements are ready for exhibition.

Nearly all these expenditures (aside from the purchase of the steamers) constitute valid claims upon the Federal government, since its lack of such outfits and provisions as are required by soldiers on the march and in the camp imposed upon us the necessity of procuring supplies for immediate use and of preparation for future demands. The contracts described as in progress are in part for fatigue suits, and also for full uniforms for summer campaign service, adequate to the wants of 6,000 men.

I ought not, in this connection, to omit to allude to the unremitting care that has been cast upon the whole Executive Council, which has held daily sessions during the past month, and whose committees on contracts and accounts have been constantly and laboriously occupied.

In truth and courtesy I must add that, whatever success has thus far been achieved in our military operations is largely due to the incessant exertions and chivalrous devotion of my military aides-de-camp, to whom the Commonwealth is indebted for invaluable services far beyond the immediate duties of their official stations, and for which I gladly confess my personal obligation. I am also under special and peculiar obligation to some gentlemen, whose time, withdrawn from the important cares of their private business, was generously offered to the Commonwealth and accepted in the same spirit in which it was tendered, and whom I would gladly designate by name, were I permitted to do so by the proprieties of this occasion.

Very soon after the commencement of our preparations, the increase of business rendered the appointment of a Quartermaster-general, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the General Statutes, an obvious necessity; and I nominated to that office a gentleman who has generously and faithfully performed its duties, for which no compensation has been provided by law. This withdrawal of certain duties, not properly pertaining to the office of the Adjutant-general, has enabled the crowded business of his bureau to be conducted with an efficiency and despatch otherwise impossible.

But, even with all this zealous and faithful co-operation, it is obvious that a broader and more comprehensive organization of the staff of the Commander-in-Chief is required by the condition of affairs. It is my opinion that an officer with substantially the functions of commissary-general is needed to accompany the Massachusetts troops in the field, and that the institution, at least temporarily, of a regular medical bureau is particularly

desirable, its duties having thus far been generously performed by a commission of medical gentlemen in Boston informally appointed. With this view, I suggest that it may be advisable to authorize the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to institute and commission such additional Staff Officers as the public business may, in his judgment, from time to time require, and in the same manner to fix their compensation, and to remove them, or to discontinue their offices; and, further, to define and prescribe the respective duties of the various departments of the staff.

I respectfully recommend that an appropriation be made to cover these expenses and contracts already incurred, as well as such others as may hereafter be indicated, and of such additional public service as the legislature may direct.

In view of the great lack of arms existing in this Commonwealth, certain to become apparent in the event of a continued struggle,—a want shared by the States in common with each other,—under the advice and consent of the Council, I commissioned a citizen of Massachusetts on the twenty-seventh day of April (who sailed almost immediately in the steamer “Persia”) to proceed to England, charged with the duty of purchasing Minié rifles, or other arms of corresponding efficiency, in England or on the Continent, as he might find it needful or desirable. To this end he was furnished with a letter of credit to the amount of fifty thousand pounds sterling, and he was attended by an accomplished and experienced armorer, familiar with the workshops of the Old World. The production of fire-arms at home will of necessity remain for a considerable period inadequate to the home demand, and I await with much interest the arrival from abroad of our expected importation; and I have no doubt that Congress, at its approaching special session, will relieve this Commonwealth from the payment of the duties chargeable thereon.

In addition to its other military defences the Nautical School ship has been fitted up to aid in guarding the coast of the Commonwealth. She has been armed with four six-pound cannon and fifty-two muskets. The collector of the district of Boston and Charlestown has commissioned and placed on board the ship an “aid-to-the-revenue,” with instructions to overhaul all suspicious vessels, warning him to use that authority with caution and moderation. Each afternoon, at the expiration of business hours, the collector telegraphs to the station at Hull the names of all vessels having permission to pass out of the harbor of Boston,

and, the list being immediately forwarded to the ship, the "aid" is authorized to order all vessels not so reported, and attempting to leave the harbor between sunset and sunrise, to wait till the next day, and until he is satisfied of their right to pass.

The commander of the ship is instructed to assist the aid-to-the-revenue, to see that thorough discipline is at all times maintained, that the rules of the ship are strictly obeyed, that all due economy be practised, that the exercises of the school are daily continued, and to see that the boys receive kind treatment, and their habits, morals, and education, are carefully and constantly regarded. On the seventh of this month the ship left the harbor of Boston, and is now cruising in the bay in the performance of the duties assigned her.

A sense of insecurity along our coast under the late piratical proclamation of Jefferson Davis, as well as our constant wants for transportation service, have induced a purchase for the Commonwealth, as a part owner with the underwriters of Boston, of the steamer "Cambridge," of about 860 tons' burden, and of the steamer "Pembroke," of 240 tons, both of which, equipped with competent naval armament, and ready to fight their way over the seas, are engaged in service. The "Cambridge" has carried a full cargo of arms, men, and supplies in ample quantities, not only to Fortress Monroe, but up the Potomac itself. And, in spite of the danger supposed to menace her from its banks, she has safely carried tents, stores, provisions, and clothing to our troops at Washington.

Besides making the requisite appropriations to meet these and other expenses, and adopting measures to establish the power of the Executive to meet the emergencies of the occasion on a distinctly legal foundation, my other principal purpose in convening the General Court was to ask its attention to the subject of a *State Encampment for Military Instruction*.

Wise statesmanship requires an adequate anticipation of all future wants of the controversy, whether as to the number or quality of the military force, its discipline, instruction, arms, or equipment. At this moment there exist one hundred and twenty-nine companies newly enlisted into the active militia, all of whom were induced to enroll themselves by the possibility of active duty in the field. Many of these are anxious to receive orders for service; and, withdrawing themselves from other avocations, they are now endeavoring to perfect themselves in the details of a soldier's routine of duty. It seemed equally an

injustice toward those who are disposed to arms, and to all other citizens on whom future exigencies might cast the inconvenient necessity of taking the field, to discourage these efforts and struggles of patriotic ambition. It is important to secure a reasonable number of soldiers, to have them ascertained, within reach, and in a proper condition for service; and it is scarcely less important that other citizens should be left as free as may be from the distractions of a divided duty, so as to pursue with heart and hope the business enterprises of private life. The best public economy is found in the forethought of considered plans, disposing the means, pursuits, and people of the whole community, so as to meet all exigencies without confusion, and with the least possible derangement of productive industry; and I have, therefore, to these ends, earnestly considered the suggestions of various eminent citizens, the written requests or memorials, numerous signed, which have reached me, and the advice of the highest officers in our own militia, all uniting in the recommendation of a State Encampment.

I recommend the subject to the wise and careful judgment of the legislature, venturing to suggest that, in order to secure success proportioned to its importance, any such encampment should be confined to those enlisting themselves for an extended term of actual service, and should not include the ordinary militia, who are only liable to three months' duty in a year; that it should be an encampment for thorough military instruction in drill, discipline, and camp duty; that all who enter it should, while there, come under the rules and laws of active military service; that for the principal commander or instructor there should be obtained, if possible, an officer of the army, of rank, experience, culture, and high character, who, with a proper staff, should be specially appointed for this service, subject to control and removal, as circumstances may require, by the Commander-in-Chief. The number of soldiers or regiments to be at any one time placed in camp should be fixed by the legislature, and also the rate of compensation and the terms of enlistment. The encampment may be at one place, or several encampments may be established under a single military commander, or otherwise, at convenience, and the power to put an end to the encampment at any time, when desirable, should be reserved to the Executive; nor should any persons be retained in camp longer than the public service may clearly seem to demand. I offer this subject to your consideration, gentlemen, with a consciousness

of the heavy care and difficult responsibilities which the adoption of any scheme of the sort indicated will impose upon the Commander-in-Chief, and with great personal diffidence, but with a hearty willingness to attempt any task which the cause of the country and the good of the people may impose, and with entire confidence in the support to be found in the aid of those who will surround me, and in the reasonable certainty of the success of any good work, honestly undertaken.

Many military organizations are now receiving aid, more or less ample, from cities and towns. The companies thus assisted are under many disadvantages, and are trying in a desultory way to fit themselves for duty. But, pursuing their efforts without uniformity of system or method, the number of soldiers, the expense they incur, and the proficiency they make are all unknown, while the benefit of their exertions is but partially realized, and the burdens are unequally borne. I venture to suggest that the practice begun in some towns of offering bounties on enlistment is attended with many inconveniences, not the least of which is the evil of different rates of compensation for soldiers of equal rank and merit in the same regiment; and, while no necessity exists for this course, it is liable to the objection of weakening the capacity of the people to afford special aid and relief to the families of soldiers which may want while husbands and fathers are in the field.

Any relief needed by our troops, whether by reason of delays of payment by the general government or otherwise, should be provided for under authority of the State and according to a uniform system.

At present the troops willing to march under the orders of the President exceed many times in number the utmost limit which can now be received at Washington or its neighborhood, although, unless some unforeseen and sudden end shall be put to the conflict, even more will ultimately be needed. Yet I cannot too strongly urge the unspeakable importance of husbanding the time and industry of all the people of the Commonwealth. I exhort them, therefore, to cultivate their resources, to devote themselves with increased assiduity to all the useful pursuits and arts of peaceful skill and labor, and especially to devote the utmost effort to increase the agricultural products of the year. Let every man not set apart for present military duty devote himself, as not less a patriot than his more martial neighbors, to the patient and quiet

pursuits which increase the wealth and security of all, remembering that a noble purpose

“Makes drudgery divine;
Who sweeps a room as for God’s law
Makes that and th’ action fine.”

I trust that the present experience will inaugurate a return to the only system capable of guarding a State against surprise, and preserving it from ultimate disaster,—I mean the arming and training of the whole militia. Devoted in heart to the interests of peace, painfully alive to the calamities and sorrows of war, I cannot fail to see how plainly the rights and liberties of a people repose upon their own capacity to maintain them.

I recommend the authorization of a permanent loan for the payment of the expenses of this new emergency, to be effected by instalments as the Executive Department may find it expedient. I suggest, also, that the scrip may be partly issuable in pieces of fifty or one hundred dollars each, so that small capitalists may share in the benefits of the opportunity for safe investment which the occasion will afford. The offers from the banking institutions of the Commonwealth, of loans to the Treasury, communicated to the Executive since the 15th of April, reach the aggregate amount of six millions four hundred thousand dollars, and whatever moneys have been needed by the Treasurer have been promptly advanced, pursuant to these offers. Their confidence in the good faith of the State, in view of the fact that our contracts have been made in the absence of previous legislation, is not less apparent than their reliance upon its pecuniary condition; and, in truth, a recurrence to the last annual report of the State Auditor renders it clear that the indebtedness of the Commonwealth (exclusive of liabilities assumed to promote public works, and assured by ample mortgages) is so trifling, while its wealth and resources are so vast, that the scrip of Massachusetts must be regarded as second to no security in the world. The tendency to hoard, in times of commotion, is a circumstance aggravating the natural perturbations of society; and it offers a strong motive of public policy for extending to all classes the opportunity of investments.

I desire to cultivate a spirit of confidence in the Federal government, its capacity, its resources, and its administration. The States and the people owe it to themselves and to justice that

they shall cautiously abstain from needless, careless, or in any way uneconomical disbursements, into which inconsiderate officials may be tempted by the expectation of ultimate repayment from the Treasury of the United States. We ought to husband every resource, to serve every interest of our parent government, to watch over and protect its pecuniary credit, and to assist its loans, in a spirit of patriotic sympathy free from any sordid taint of personal selfishness; and I respectfully ask you to consider whether power may not properly be vested in some department of the Commonwealth to intervene with the aid of our own credit as a State, in any possible future contingency of pecuniary weakness at Washington.

In this grave national experience it becomes us not only to acquit ourselves as men, by courage and enterprise, but also to remember that every virtue, civil as well as military, calls on us with more commanding voice. Patient endurance, unflinching perseverance in every duty, whether of action or passion, at such a moment becomes grand and heroic. Nor can I urge too strongly the duty of faithful and filial union of heart with those to whom are committed the responsibilities of the central power. Whether they who have to guide the current of national action seem fast or slow, narrow or broad, I trust that Massachusetts men will, with equal devotedness, enact their part in this warfare, as good soldiers of a great cause.

It is impossible that such an uprising of the people as we have witnessed—so volcanic in its energy—should not manifest itself here and there in jets of unreasonable passion, and even of violence, against individuals who are suspected of treasonable sympathies. But I am glad to believe that respect for every personal right is so general and so profound throughout Massachusetts that few such demonstrations have occurred in our community. Let us never—under any conceivable circumstances of provocation or indignation—forget that the right of free discussion of all public questions is guaranteed to every individual on Massachusetts soil, by the settled conviction of her people, by the habits of her successive generations, and by express provisions of her constitution. And let us therefore never seek to repress the criticisms of a minority, however small, upon the character and conduct of any administration, whether State or National.

For myself I entertain a most cordial trust in the wisdom and patriotism of the President of the United States and his Cabinet, and of the venerable head of the American army, whose long and

eminent career has given him a place second to no living captain of our time. True to his allegiance to his country and to himself, may he long be spared to serve his countrymen, and to enjoy their gratitude; and, though white the marble and tall the aspiring shaft which posterity will rear to record his fame, his proudest monument will be their affectionate memory of a life grand in the service of peace not less than of war, preserving in their hearts forever the name of Winfield Scott.

Surrounded by universal sympathy and aid, it is beyond my power to bear separate testimony to the value and merits of the various gifts and services offered and performed in behalf of the State and in amelioration of the hardships of those who bear the immediate brunt of war. From every department of social, business, and religious life, from every age, sex, and condition of our community, by gifts, by toil, by skill and handiwork, out of the basket and the store and out of the full hearts of the community, they have poured through countless channels of benevolence and patriotism.

But how shall I record the grand and sublime uprising of the people, devoting themselves, their lives, their all! No creative art has ever woven into song a story more tender in its pathos or more stirring to the martial blood than the scenes just enacted, passing before our eyes in the villages and towns of our own dear old Commonwealth. Henceforth be silent, ye shallow cavillers at New England thrift, economy, and peaceful toil! Henceforth let no one dare accuse our northern sky, our icy winters, or our granite hills!

"*Oh, what a glorious morning!*" was the exulting cry of Samuel Adams, as he, excluded from royal grace, heard the sharp musketry which on the dawn of the 19th of April, 1775, announced the beginning of the war of independence. The yeomanry who in 1775, on Lexington Common and on the banks of Concord River, first made that day immortal in our annals, have found their lineal representatives in the historic regiment which on the 19th of April, 1861, in the streets of Baltimore, baptized our flag anew in heroic blood,—when Massachusetts marched once more "*in the sacred cause of liberty and the rights of mankind.*"

Senators and Representatives:

Grave responsibilities have fallen, in the Providence of God, upon the government and the people; and they are welcome. They could not have been safely postponed. They have not

arrived too soon. They will sift and try this people, all who lead and all who follow. But this trial, giving us a heroic present to revive our past, will breathe the inspiration of a new life into our national character and reassure the destiny of the Republic.

That such a man should be made governor of Massachusetts was, of course, an inevitable incident in the logic of events. He could not have prevented it had he tried. But the exact time at which he was elected had in it something providential. Never did the Ship of State more need such firmness, wisdom, forecast, and energy at the helm.

"Each petty hand
Can steer a ship becalmed; but he that will
Govern and carry her to her ends, must know
His tides, his currents; how to shift his sails;
What she will bear in foul, what in fair weathers;
What her springs are, her leaks, and how to stop them;
What strands, what shelves, what rocks do threaten her;
The forces and the natures of all winds,
Gusts, storms, and tempests; when her keel ploughs hell,
And deck knocks heaven; then to manage her
Becomes the name and office of a pilot."

And such a pilot Governor Andrew proved himself to be. Knowing, as he did, the philosophy of the slave system, and knowing, also, the purposes of its champions, the Slaveholders' Rebellion could not take him by surprise. As early as the middle of December, 1860, he had visited Washington, conversed familiarly with the leading public men of the South, and clearly perceived that all the movements relating to compromise were but scenes in a clumsily acted political farce. He looked straight through all the plausibilities to the realities of the situation, and returned to Boston as much convinced that the South meant war as he was on the day when the first gun fired on Sumter woke everybody to the fact. From his insight sprang his foresight. It was mainly through his exertions that the active militia of Massachusetts were placed on a war footing, ready to march at the first word of command. You all remember with what sagacity this was done, and you all remember, too, with what sneers and gibes his forecast was then rewarded. His general order to the militia was promulgated in January, 1861, and the memorable 12th of April, which opened the costliest and bloodiest of civil wars, found him all prepared. He received his telegram from Washington, for troops, on Monday, April 15. He was able to say that by nine o'clock on the next Sunday morning, "the whole number of regiments demanded from Massachusetts were already either in Washington or in Fortress Monroe or on their way to the defence of the capital. It was at midnight on the 19th of April, after the exhausting labors of the day, that he wrote, at his own house, the despatch to the mayor of Baltimore, which has so endeared him to the popular heart. "I pray you," he wrote, "to cause the bodies of our Massachusetts soldiers, dead in Baltimore, to be immediately laid out, preserved with ice, and *tenderly* sent forward by express to me." His activity during the first month of the war was not more marked than his mental self-possession. The rush and whirl of events did not hurry him from his balance. Overwhelmed with all sorts of propositions, recommendations, proposals, pertinent and impertinent,

such as might be expected in an emergency when the confusion of men's minds was as great as the warmth of their sentiments, the governor stood firm and calm, listening, analyzing, deciding, quick to detect what was judicious, proof against all the generousities of unreason. No one was more impassioned than he: no one was more serene and self-centred. He was all alive, soul and body, heart and brain, and, being all alive, his intellect showed its clearness and grasp, as well as his sensibility its fire and impulse. "There is nothing," we are told, "more terrible than activity without insight"; and the governor's activity was identical with his insight. He decided swiftly, and he decided surely. The rarest quality of comprehensive statesmanship, the readiness to assume responsibility, seemed native to his intrepid intelligence. "Immediately," he writes to President Lincoln on the 3d of May, "on receiving your Proclamation, we took up the war, and have carried on our part of it, in the spirit in which we believe the administration and the American people intend to act; namely, as if there was not an inch of red tape in the world." So thoroughly kindled was his whole nature that, when, a few days later, he addressed the legislature in its extra session, his rapid recital of the powers he had assumed, and the work he had done, combined the explicitness of a business document with something of the lyric rush of an ode of triumph.

This unwearied fire of soul burned steadily within him during the whole five years of heroic effort and heroic toil, which made his administration such an epoch in the history of the State. He knew that the disease of which he eventually died might strike him at any moment. Three months before he entered on his glorious career as governor he was warned by his physician that any over-exertion of brain would endanger his health, and probably his life. He was notoriously as regardless of the warning as a brave soldier, going to battle, would be regardless of the admonition that he might be hit by a bullet. The care that a man takes of his health should, of course, be subordinate to his sense of duty. Considerations of hygiene did not enter into the soul of William of Orange, doing that which he knew would reduce him to an "asthmatic skeleton"; into the soul of Milton, doing that which he knew would deprive him of his sight; into the soul of Latimer, doing that which he knew would lead him to the stake. On the same principle Governor Andrew felt that he was at his post, not to take care of himself, but to look after the rights and interests of others; and, indeed, any man who evades the duty of the hour in order to save himself for some future great occasion is a man to whom no great occasion will ever come.

Taking thus his life in his hand, he, in the most emphatic sense of the phrase, "enlisted for the war." To perform every duty as it rose or as it was anticipated was both his labor and his delight. "The only question," he said, "which I can entertain is what to do; and, when that question is answered, the other is, what *next* to do." The record of that heroic activity is too long to be recited here. There is no time even to allude to more than a few of its shining results. The mere statement of the fact that Massachusetts, during the war, contributed nearly a hundred and sixty thousand men to the army and navy, and expended nearly twenty-eight millions of dollars from her own treasury, shows how laborious and how sagacious must have been the exertions of her executive head. But the details of all this work, the wear and tear of heart and brain they involved, the minute supervision they required, the audacity and the tact demanded for their

skilful management, the fret, anxiety, perplexity, disappointment, which were their too common accompaniments,—who shall estimate them? The governor drudged in the service of a clear-seeing, far-seeing statesmanship; but the drudgery was still exhausting to body and mind. And then the prejudices he had to overcome! He saw from the first that the war must destroy slavery, and he urged the issuing of the Presidential Proclamation of Emancipation before it came. What cries from prudent patriots that he was perilling the cause by his wish to give it a new moral stimulant! He saw from the first that the negroes should have a part in the war which was sure to emancipate them, and he was the first Northern governor to organize black regiments. What gibes from fathers of families whose sons his policy saved from the draft! In the fourteen or fifteen thousand military appointments he made, how often must he have wounded the self-esteem of disappointed applicants, and how bitter was often their resentment! And, in addition to his labors in the State itself, it is to be remembered that his duties called him frequently to Washington to press the settlement of State claims on the national government, to enforce his views of public policy on the national administration, and especially to insist that no just complaints of his Massachusetts regiments should be left unrelieved.—*From Edwin P. Whipple's Eulogy on Andrew.*

John Albion Andrew, the great war governor of Massachusetts (1861-65), was born at Windham, Me., a small town near Sebago Lake, May 31, 1818, two years before the organization of Maine as a separate State. His first American ancestor on his father's side was Robert Andrew, who, coming from England, settled in Rowley, Mass., and died there in 1668. Another of his ancestors was Francis Higginson, the first minister of Salem. A portrait of this old clergyman hung over the mantel in the Council Chamber during the whole of Andrew's administration as governor. Andrew's grandfather, whose name he bore, was a successful Salem merchant, who removed to Windham after the birth of his son Jonathan, the governor's father. The latter, who became a prosperous merchant at Windham, married Nancy G. Pierce, a teacher in Fryeburg Academy, where Daniel Webster also was once a teacher; and John A. Andrew was their oldest son. He was a school-boy in Windham and Salem, and then a student in Bowdoin College, where he graduated in 1837. He came to Boston to study law in the office of Henry H. Fuller, an uncle of Margaret Fuller, and was admitted to the bar in 1840. In 1849 he joined the Anti-slavery party. In 1854 he defended the parties indicted in Boston for attempting the rescue of the fugitive slave Burns. He was elected to the Massachusetts legislature in 1858. In 1859 he initiated and directed the measures for the legal defence of John Brown in Virginia. In 1860 he was at the head of the Massachusetts delegation to the Republican Convention in Chicago, which nominated Lincoln for the Presidency; and in the same year he was elected governor of Massachusetts, receiving the largest popular vote that had ever been cast for a candidate for that office. He was governor for five years, finally in 1865 declining re-election, and was the most eminent of the many eminent governors of the Civil War period. He died Oct. 30, 1867. His home was for many years in Hingham. There is a statue of him by his grave in the Hingham cemetery, and another in the State House in Boston.

Governor Andrew waited long for an adequate biography, the thorough and admirable work in two volumes by Professor Henry G. Pearson being published in 1904. There were earlier biographical sketches by Albert G. Browne, Jr., his secretary, and Peleg W. Chandler; the eulogy delivered by Edwin P. Whipple before the City Council of Boston in 1867, printed in Mr. Whipple's volume is entitled "Success and its Conditions"; and there are valuable memorial sketches by James Freeman Clarke, F. P. Stearns, F. Moore, E. F. Stone, Mrs. Stowe, and others. A volume of his political and general addresses is a desideratum. His Valedictory Address to the Massachusetts legislature, Jan. 4, 1866, and two literary addresses are included in the appendix to Mr. Chandler's biography.

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A Dialogue between Old England and New

And other poems, by Mrs. Anne Dudley Bradstreet.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN OLD ENGLAND AND NEW CONCERNING
THEIR PRESENT TROUBLES, ANNO 1642.

NEW ENGLAND.

Alas, dear mother, fairest queen and best,
With honor, wealth, and peace happy and blest,
What ails thee hang thy head, and cross thine arms,
And sit in the dust to sigh these sad alarms?
What deluge of new woes thus overwhelms
The glories of thy ever famous realm?
What means this wailing tone, this mournful guise?
Ah, tell thy daughter, she may sympathize.

OLD ENGLAND.

Art ignorant indeed of these my woes,
Or must my forcéd tongue these griefs disclose,
And must myself dissect my tattered state,
Which amazed Christendom stands wondering at?
And thou a child, a limb, and dost not feel
My fainting, weakened body now to reel?
This physic purging potion I have taken
Will bring consumption or an ague-quaking
Unless some cordial thou fetch from high,

Which present help may ease my malady.
 If I decease, dost think thou shalt survive?
 Or by my wasting state dost think to thrive?
 Then weigh our case if it be not justly sad.
 Let me lament alone, while thou art glad.

NEW ENGLAND.

And thus, alas, your state you much deplore
 In general terms, but will not say wherefore.
 What medicine shall I seek to cure this woe
 If the wound so dangerous I may not know.
 But you, perhaps, would have me guess it out.
 What, hath some Hengist like that Saxon stout
 By fraud or force usurped thy flowering crown,
 Or by tempestuous wars thy fields trod down?
 Or hath Canutus, that brave valiant Dane,
 The regal peaceful sceptre from thee ta'en?
 Or is it a Norman whose victorious hand
 With English blood bedews thy conquered land?
 Or is it intestine wars that thus offend?
 Do Maud and Stephen for the crown contend?
 Do barons rise and side against their king,
 And call in foreign aid to help the thing?
 Must Edward be deposed? Or is it the hour
 That second Richard must be clapped in the tower?
 Or is it the fatal jar, again begun,
 That from the red-white pricking roses sprung?
 Must Richmond's aid the nobles now implore
 To come and break the tushes of the boar?
 If none of these, dear mother, what's your woe?
 Pray, do you fear Spain's bragging Armado?
 Doth your ally, fair France, conspire your wreck,
 Or do the Scots play false behind your back?
 Doth Holland quit you ill for all your love?
 Whence is the storm, from earth or heaven above?
 Is it drought, is it famine, or is it pestilence?
 Dost feel the smart, or fear the consequence?
 Your humble child entreats you show your grief.
 Though arms nor purse she hath for your relief,—
 Such is her poverty,—yet shall be found
 A suppliant for your help, as she is bound.

OLD ENGLAND.

I must confess some of those sores you name
 My beauteous body at this present maim;
 But foreign foe nor feignéd friend I fear,
 For they have work enough, thou knowest, elsewhere.
 Nor is it Alcie's son or Henry's daughter
 Whose proud contentions cause this slaughter;
 Nor nobles siding to make John no king,
 French Louis unjustly to the crown to bring;
 No Edward, Richard, to lose rule and life,
 Nor no Lancastrians to renew old strife;
 No Duke of York nor Earl of March to soil
 Their hands in kindred's blood whom they did foil.
 No crafty tyrant now usurps the seat
 Who nephews slew that so he might be great.
 No need of Tudor roses to unite;
 None knows which is the red or which the white.
 Spain's braving fleet a second time is sunk.
 France knows how oft my fury she hath drunk
 By Edward Third and Henry Fifth of fame;
 Her lilies in my arms avouch the same.
 My sister Scotland hurts me now no more,
 Though she hath been injurious heretofore.
 What Holland is I am in some suspense,
 But trust not much unto his excellence.
 For wants, sure some I feel, but more I fear;
 And for the pestilence, who knows how near?
 Famine and plague, two sisters of the sword,
 Destruction to a land doth soon afford.
 They're for my punishment ordained on high,
 Unless our tears prevent it speedily.
 But yet I answer not what you demand
 To show the grievance of my troubled land.
 Before I tell the effect I'll show the cause,
 Which is my sins—the breach of sacred laws:
 Idolatry, supplanter of a nation,
 With foolish superstitious adoration,
 Are liked and countenanced by men of might;
 The gospel trodden down and hath no right;
 Church offices were sold and bought for gain,
 That Pope had hope to find Rome here again;

For oaths and blasphemies did ever ear
 From Beelzebub himself such language hear?
 What scorning of the saints of the most high!
 What injuries did daily on them lie!
 What false reports, what nicknames did they take,
 Not for their own, but for their Master's sake!
 And thou, poor soul, wert jeered among the rest;
 Thy flying for the truth was made a jest.
 For Sabbath-breaking and for drunkenness
 Did ever land profaneness more express?
 From crying blood yet cleanséd am not I,
 Martyrs and others dying causelessly.
 How many princely heads on blocks laid down
 For naught but title to a fading crown!
 'Mongst all the cruelties by great ones done,
 O Edward's youths, and Clarence' hapless son,
 O Jane, why didst thou die in flowering prime?—
 Because of royal stem, that was hy crime.
 For bribery, adultery, and lies
 Where is the nation I can't paralyze?
 With usury, extortion, and oppression,
 These be the hydras of my stout transgression;
 These be the bitter fountains, heads, and roots
 Whence flowed the source, the sprigs, the boughs, and fruits
 Of more than thou canst hear or I relate,
 That with high hand I still did perpetrate.
 For these were threatenéd the woful day.
 I mocked the preachers, put it far away;
 The sermons yet upon recórd do stand
 That cried destruction to my wicked land.
 I then believed not, now I feel and see
 The plague of stubborn incredulity.
 Some lost their livings, some in prison pent,
 Some, fined, from house and friends to exile went.
 Their silent tongues to heaven did vengeance cry,
 Who saw their wrongs, and hath judged righteously,
 And will repay it sevenfold in my lap.
 This is forerunner of my afterclap.
 Nor took I warning by my neighbors' falls:
 I saw sad Germany's dismantled walls,
 I saw her people famished, nobles slain,
 Her fruitful land a barren heath remain;

I saw, unmoved, her armies foiled and fled,
 Wives forced, babes tossed, her houses calciné.
 I saw strong Rochelle yielded to her foe,
 Thousands of starvéd Christians there also.
 I saw poor Ireland bleeding out her last,
 Such cruelties as all reports have passed;
 Mine heart obdurate stood not yet aghast.
 Now sip I of that cup, and just it may be
 The bottom dregs reservéd are for me.

NEW ENGLAND.

To all you've said, sad mother, I assent.
 Your fearful sins great cause there is to lament.
 My guilty hands in part hold up with you,
 A sharer in your punishment's my due.
 But all you say amounts to this effect,
 Not what you feel, but what you do expect.
 Pray, in plain terms, what is your present grief?
 Then let's join heads and hearts for your relief.

OLD ENGLAND.

Well, to the matter, then. There's grown of late
 'Twixt king and peers a question of state:
 Which is the chief—the law, or else the king?
 One said, it's he; the other, no such thing.
 'Tis said my better part in Parliament
 To ease my groaning land showed their intent,
 To crush the proud, and right to each man deal,
 To help the church, and stay the commonweal.
 So many obstacles came in their way
 As puts me to a stand what I should say.
 Old customs new prerogatives stood on;
 Had they not held law fast, all had been gone,
 Which by their prudence stood them in such stead
 They took high Strafford lower by the head,
 And to their *Laud* be it spoke they held in the tower
 All England's metropolitan that hour.
 This done, an act they would have passéd fain
 No prelate should his bishopric retain;
 Here tugged they hard indeed, for all men saw
 This must be done by gospel, not by law.

Next the militia they urgéd sore;
 This was denied, I need not say wherefore.
 The king, displeased, at York himself absents.
 They humbly beg his return, show their intents;
 The writing, printing, posting to and fro,
 Show all was done; I'll therefore let it go.
 But now I come to speak of my disaster.
 Contention grown 'twixt subjects and their master,
 They worded it so long they fell to blows,
 That thousands lay on heaps. Here bleed my woes.
 I that no wars so many years have known
 Am now destroyed and slaughtered by my own.
 But could the field alone this strife decide,
 One battle, two, or three I might abide.
 But these may be beginnings of more woe—
 Who knows but this may be my overthrow!
 Oh, pity me in this sad perturbation,
 My plundered towns, my houses' devastation,
 My weeping virgins, and my young men slain,
 My wealthy trading fallen, my dearth of grain.
 The seed-times come, but ploughman hath no hope
 Because he knows not who shall in his crop.
 The poor they want their pay, their children bread,
 Their woful mothers' tears unpitiéd.
 If any pity in thy heart remain,
 Or any child-like love thou dost retain,
 For my relief do what there lies in thee,
 And recompense that good I've done to thee.

NEW ENGLAND.

Dear mother, cease complaints, and wipe your eyes,
 Shake off your dust, cheer up, and now arise.
 You are my mother nurse, and I, your flesh,
 Your sunken bowels gladly would refresh.
 Your griefs I pity, but soon hope to see
 Out of your troubles much good fruit to be;
 To see those latter days of hoped-for good,
 Though now beclouded all with tears and blood.
 After dark popery the day did clear;
 But now the sun in his brightness shall appear.
 Blest be the nobles of thy noble land

With ventured lives for truth's defence that stand.
 Blest be thy Commons, who for common good
 And thy infringéd laws have boldly stood.
 Blest be thy counties, who did aid thee still
 With hearts and states to testify their will.
 Blest be thy preachers, who do cheer thee on;
 Oh, cry the sword of God and Gideon!
 And shall I not on them wish Meroz' curse
 That help thee not with prayers, with alms, and purse?
 And for myself let miseries abound
 If mindless of thy state I e'er be found.
 These are the days the church's foes to crush,
 To root out popeling's head, tail, branch, and rush.
 Let's bring Baal's vestments forth to make a fire,
 Their mitres, surplices, and all their attire,
 Copes, rochets, croziers, and such empty trash,
 And let their names consume, but let the flash
 Light Christendom, and all the world to see
 We hate Rome's whore, with all her trumpery.
 Go on, brave Essex, with a loyal heart,
 Not false to king, nor to the better part;
 But those that hurt his people and his crown,
 As duty binds expel and tread them down.
 And ye brave nobles, chase away all fear,
 And to this hopeful cause closely adhere.
 O mother, can you weep and have such peers?
 When they are gone, then drown yourself in tears,
 If now you weep so much, that then no more
 The briny ocean will o'erflow your shore.
 These, these are they, I trust, with Charles our king,
 Out of all mists such glorious days shall bring
 That dazzled eyes, beholding, much shall wonder
 At that thy settled peace, thy wealth, and splendor;
 Thy church and weal established in such manner
 That all shall joy that thou displayedst thy banner;
 And discipline erected so, I trust,
 That nursing kings shall come and lick thy dust.
 Then justice shall in all thy courts take place
 Without respect of person or of case;
 Then bribes shall cease, and suits shall not stick long,
 Patience and purse of clients oft to wrong;
 Then high commissions shall fall to decay,

And pursuivants and catchpoles want their pay.
 So shall thy happy nation ever flourish,
 When truth and righteousness they thus shall nourish.
 When thus in peace, thine armies brave send out
 To sack proud Rome, and all her vassals rout;
 There let thy name, thy fame, and glory shine,
 As did thine ancestors' in Palestine,
 And let her spoils full pay with interest be
 Of what unjustly once she polled from thee.
 Of all the woes thou canst let her be sped,
 And on her pour the vengeance threatenéd.
 Bring forth the beast that ruled the world with his beck,
 And tear his flesh, and set your feet on his neck,
 And make his filthy den so desolate
 To the astonishment of all that knew his state.
 This done, with brandished swords to Turkey go,—
 For then what is it but English blades dare do?—
 And lay her waste,—for so's the sacred doom,—
 And do to Gog as thou hast done to Rome.
 O Abraham's seed, lift up your heads on high,
 For sure the day of your redemption's nigh.
 The scales shall fall from your long blinded eyes,
 And him you shall adore who now despise.
 Then fulness of the nations in shall flow,
 And Jew and Gentile to one worship go;
 Then follow days of happiness and rest.
 Whose lot doth fall to live therein is blest.
 No Canaanite shall then be found in the land,
 And holiness on horses' bells shall stand.
 If this make way thereto, then sigh no more,
 But if at all thou didst not see it before.
 Farewell, dear mother; rightest cause prevail,
 And in a while you'll tell another tale.

IN HONOR OF THAT HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESS QUEEN ELIZABETH OF HAPPY MEMORY.

THE PROEM.

Although, great queen, thou now in silence lie,
 Yet thy loud herald, fame, doth to the sky
 Thy wondrous worth proclaim in every clime,
 And so hath vowed while there is world or time.
 So great is thy glory and thine excellence
 The sound thereof rapt every human sense,
 That men account it no impiety
 To say thou wert a fleshly deity.
 Thousands bring offerings, though out of date,
 Thy world of honors to accumulate;
 'Mongst hundred hecatombs of roaring verse,
 Mine bleating stands before thy royal hearse.
 Thou never didst nor canst thou now disdain
 To accept the tribute of a loyal brain;
 Thy clemency did erst esteem as much
 The acclamations of the poor as rich,
 Which makes me deem my rudeness is no wrong,
 Though I resound thy praises 'mongst the throng.

THE POEM.

No phoenix pen, nor Spenser's poetry,
 Nor Speed's nor Camden's learned history,
 Eliza's works, wars, praise, can e'er compact.
 The world's the theatre where she did act.
 No memories nor volumes can contain
 The eleven olympiads of her happy reign,
 Who was so good, so just, so learned, wise,
 From all the kings on earth she won the prize.
 Nor say I more than duly is her due;
 Millions will testify that this is true.
 She hath wiped off the aspersion of her sex
 That women wisdom lack to play the rex.
 Spain's monarch says not so, nor yet his host;
 She taught them better manners to their cost.
 The Salic law in force now had not been
 If France had ever hoped for such a queen.

But can you, doctors, now this point dispute,
 She's argument enough to make you mute.
 Since first the sun did run his near-run race,
 And earth had, once a year, a new-old face,
 Since time was time, and man unmanly man,
 Come show me such a phoenix if you can?
 Was ever people better ruled than hers?
 Was ever land more happy, freed from stirs?
 Did ever wealth in England more abound?
 Her victories in foreign coasts resound.
 Ships more invincible than Spain's, her foe
 She wrecked, she sacked, she sunk his Armado;
 Her stately troops advanced to Lisbon's wall
 Don Anthony in his right there to install;
 She frankly helped Franks' brave distressed king;
 The states united now her fame do sing,
 She their protectrix was—they well do know
 Unto our dread virago what they owe.
 Her nobles sacrificed their noble blood,
 Nor men nor coin she spared to do them good.
 The rude untaméd Irish she did quell;
 Before her picture the proud Tyrone fell.
 Had ever prince such counsellors as she?
 Herself, Minerva, caused them so to be.
 Such captains and such soldiers never seen
 As were the subjects of our Pallas queen.
 Her seamen through all straits the world did round,
 Terra incognita might know the sound.
 Her Drake came laden home with Spanish gold;
 Her Essex took Cadiz, their herculean hold.
 But time would fail me, so my tongue would, too,
 To tell of half she did or she could do.
 Semiramis to her is but obscure—
 More infamy than fame she did procure;
 She built her glory but on Babel's walls,
 World's wonder for a while, but yet it falls.
 Fierce Tomýris (Cyrus' headsman), Scythians' queen,
 Had put her harness off had she but seen
 Our amazon in the camp of Tilbury,
 Judging all valor and all majesty
 Within that princess to have residence,
 And prostrate yielded to her excellence.

Dido, first foundress of proud Carthage' walls,—
 Who living consummates her funerals?—
 A great Elisa; but compared with ours
 How vanisheth her glory, wealth, and powers!
 Profuse, proud Cleopatra, whose wrong name,
 Instead of glory, proved her country's shame,
 Of her what worth in stories to be seen
 But that she was a rich Egyptian queen?
 Zenobia, potent empress of the East,
 And of all these without compare the best,
 Whom none but great Aurelian could quell,
 Yet for our queen is no fit parallel.
 She was a phœnix queen; so shall she be,
 Her ashes not revived, more phœnix she.
 Her personal perfections who would tell
 Must dip his pen in the Heliconian well,
 Which I may not; my pride doth but aspire
 To read what others write, and so admire.
 Now say, have women worth, or have they none?
 Or had they some, but with our queen is it gone?
 Nay, masculines, you have thus taxed us long,
 But she, though dead, will vindicate our wrong.
 Let such as say our sex is void of reason
 Know 'tis a slander now, but once was treason.
 But happy England, which had such a queen!
 Yea, happy, happy, had those days still been!
 But happiness lies in a higher sphere;
 Then wonder not Eliza moves not here.
 Full fraught with honor, riches, and with days,
 She set, she set, like Titan in his rays.
 No more shall rise or set so glorious sun
 Until the heavens' great revolution.
 If then new things their old forms shall retain,
 Eliza shall rule Albion once again.

Her Epitaph.

*Here sleeps the queen; this is the royal bed
 Of the damask rose sprung from the white and red,
 Whose sweet perfume fills the all-filling air.
 This rose is withered, once so lovely fair.
 On neither tree did grow such rose before;—
 The greater was our gain, our loss the more.*

Another.

*Here lies the pride of queens, pattern of kings.
So blaze it, Fame; here are feathers for thy wings.
Here lies the envied yet unparalleled prince,
Whose living virtues speak, though dead long since.
If many worlds, as that fantastic framed,
In every one be her great glory famed.*

TO THE MEMORY OF MY DEAR AND EVER HONORED FATHER
THOMAS DUDLEY, ESQ., WHO DECEASED JULY 31, 1653,
AND OF HIS AGE 77.

By duty bound, and not by custom led
To celebrate the praises of the dead,
My mournful mind, sore pressed, in trembling verse
Presents my lamentations at his hearse
Who was my father, guide, instructor, too,
To whom I ought whatever I could do.
Nor is it relation near my hand shall tie;
For who more cause to boast his worth than I?
Who heard, or saw, observed, or knew him better,
Or who alive than I a greater debtor?
Let malice bite, and envy gnaw its fill,
He was my father, and I'll praise him still.
Nor was his name or life led so obscure
That pity might some trumpeters procure,
Who after death might make him falsely seen
Such as in life no man could justly deem.
Well known and loved, where'er he lived, by most,
Both in his native and in foreign coast,
These to the world his merits could make known.
So need no testimonial from his own.
But now or never I must pay my sum;
While others tell his worth, I'll not be dumb.
One of thy founders him, New England, know,
Who stayed thy feeble sides when thou wast low,
Who spent his state, his strength, and years with care
That aftercomers in them might have share.
True patriot of this little commonweal,
Who is it can tax thee aught but for thy zeal?

Truth's friend thou wert, to errors still a foe,
 Which caused apostates to malign thee so.
 Thy love to true religion e'er shall shine—
 My father's God be God of me and mine!
 Upon the earth he did not build his nest,
 But as a pilgrim what he had possessed.
 High thoughts he gave no harbor in his heart,
 Nor honors puffed him up, when he had part;
 Those titles loathed which some too much do love,
 For truly his ambition lay above.
 His humble mind so loved humility
 He left it to his race for legacy,
 And oft and oft, with speeches mild and wise,
 Gave his in charge that jewel rich to prize.
 No ostentation seen in all his ways,
 As in the mean ones of our foolish days,
 Which all they have, and more, still set to view
 Their greatness may be judged by what they show.
 His thoughts were more sublime, his actions wise;
 Such vanities he justly did despise.
 Nor wonder 'twas low things ne'er much did move,
 For he a mansion had prepared above,
 For which he sighed and prayed and longed full sore
 He might be clothed upon for evermore;
 Oft spake of death, and with a smiling cheer
 He did exult his end was drawing near.
 Now fully ripe, as shock of wheat that's grown,
 Death as a sickle hath him timely mown,
 And in celestial barn hath housed him high,
 Where storms, nor showers, nor aught can damnify.
 His generation served, his labors cease,
 And to his fathers gathered is in peace.
 Ah happy soul, 'mongst saints and angels blest,
 Who after all his toil is now at rest!
 His hoary head in righteousness was found;
 As joy in heaven, on earth let praise resound.
 Forgotten never be his memory!
 His blessing rest on his posterity!
 His pious footsteps followed by his race
 At last will bring us to that happy place
 Where we with joy each other's face shall see,
 And parted more by death shall never be.

His Epitaph.

*Within this tomb a patriot lies
 That was both pious, just, and wise,
 To truth a shield, to right a wall,
 To sectaries a whip and maul.
 A magazine of history,
 A prizet of good company,
 In manners pleasant and severe,
 The good him loved, the bad did fear;
 And when his time with years was spent,
 If some rejoiced, more did lament.*

AN EPIGRAPH ON MY DEAR AND EVER HONORED MOTHER MRS.
 DOROTHY DUDLEY, WHO DECEASED DECEMBER 27, 1643,
 AND OF HER AGE 61.

Here lies

*A worthy matron of unspotted life,
 A loving mother, and obedient wife,
 A friendly neighbor, pitiful to poor,
 Whom oft she fed and clothed with her store;
 To servants wisely awful, but yet kind,
 And as they did so they reward did find;
 A true instructor of her family,
 The which she ordered with dexterity;
 The public meetings ever did frequent,
 And in her closet constant hours she spent;
 Religious in all her words and ways,
 Preparing still for death till end of days;
 Of all her children children lived to see,
 Then, dying, left a blessed memory.*

THE AUTHOR TO HER BOOK.

Thou ill-formed offspring of my feeble brain,
 Who after birth didst by my side remain
 Till snatched from thence by friends less wise than true
 Who thee abroad exposed to public view,
 Made thee, in rags, halting, to the press to trudge,

Where errors were not lessened, all may judge,
 At thy return my blushing was not small
 My rambling brat—in print—should mother call.
 I cast thee by as one unfit for light,
 Thy visage was so irksome in my sight;
 Yet being mine own, at length affection would
 Thy blemishes amend, if so I could.
 I washed thy face, but more defects I saw,
 And rubbing off a spot still made a flaw.
 I stretched thy joints to make thee even feet,
 Yet still thou runnest more hobbling than is meet.
 In better dress to trim thee was my mind,
 But naught save homespun cloth in the house I find.
 In this array 'mongst vulgars mayst thou roam,
 In critics' hands beware thou dost not come,
 And take thy way where yet thou art not known.
 If for thy father asked, say thou hadst none;
 And for thy mother, she, alas, is poor,
 Which caused her thus to send thee out of door.

TO MY DEAR AND LOVING HUSBAND.

If ever two were one, then surely we;
 If ever man were loved by wife, then thee;
 If ever wife was happy in a man,
 Compare with me, ye women, if you can.
 I prize thy love more than whole mines of gold,
 Or all the riches that the East doth hold.
 My love is such that rivers cannot quench,
 Nor aught but love from thee give recompense.
 Thy love is such I can no way repay;
 The heavens reward thee manifold, I pray.
 Then while we live in love let's so persevere
 That when we live no more we may live ever.

IN REFERENCE TO HER CHILDREN,

23 JUNE, 1659.

I had eight birds hatched in one nest;
 Four cocks there were, and hens the rest.

I nursed them up with pain and care,
 Nor cost nor labor did I spare,
 Till at the last they felt their wing,
 Mounted the trees, and learned to sing.
 Chief of the brood then took his flight
 To regions far, and left me quite;
 My mournful chirps I after send
 Till he return or I do end:
 Leave not thy nest, thy dam, and sire;
 Fly back and sing amidst this choir.
 My second bird did take her flight,
 And with her mate flew out of sight;
 Southward they both their course did bend,
 And seasons twain they there did spend,
 Till after, blown by southern gales,
 They northward steered with filléd sails.
 A prettier bird was nowhere seen
 Along the beach, among the treen.
 I have a third, of color white,
 On whom I placed no small delight;
 Coupled with mate loving and true,
 Hath also bid her dam adieu,
 And where Aurora first appears
 She now hath perched to spend her years.
 One to the academy flew
 To chat among that learned crew;
 Ambition moves still in his breast
 That he might chant above the rest,
 Striving for more than to do well—
 That nightingales he might excel.
 My fifth, whose down is yet scarce gone,
 Is 'mongst the shrubs and bushes floun,
 And as his wings increase in strength
 On higher boughs he'll perch at length.
 My other three still with me nest
 Until they're grown; then, as the rest,
 Or here or there they'll take their flight;
 As is ordained, so shall they light.
 If birds could weep, then would my tears
 Let others know what are my fears
 Lest this my brood some harm should catch
 And be surprised for want of watch:

Whilst pecking corn, and void of care,
 They fall unawares in fowler's snare;
 Or whilst on trees they sit and sing,
 Some untoward boy at them do fling;
 Or whilst allured with bell and glass,
 The net be spread, and caught, alas!
 Or lest by lime-twigs they be foiled,
 Or by some greedy hawks be spoiled.
 Oh, would, my young, ye saw my breast,
 And knew what thoughts there sadly rest.
 Great was my pain when I you bred,
 Great was my care when I you fed;
 Long did I keep you soft and warm,
 And with my wings kept off all harm.
 My cares are more, and fears, than ever,
 My throbs such now as 'fore were never.
 Alas, my birds, you wisdom want;
 Of perils you are ignorant—
 Oft times in grass, on trees, in flight,
 Sore accidents on you may light.
 Oh, to your safety have an eye;
 So happy may you live and die.
 Meanwhile my days in tunes I'll spend
 Till my weak lays with me shall end;
 In shady woods I'll sit and sing,
 Things that are past to mind I'll bring—
 Once young and pleasant, as are you.
 But former toys,—not joys,—adieu!
 My age I will not once lament,
 But sing my time so near is spent,
 And from the top bough take my flight
 Into a country beyond sight,
 Where old ones instantly grow young,
 And there with seraphims set song.
 No seasons cold nor storms they see,
 But spring lasts to eternity.
 When each of you shall in your nest
 Among your young ones take your rest,
 In chirping language oft them tell
 You had a dam that loved you well,
 That did what could be done for young,
 And nursed you up till you were strong;

And 'fore she once would let you fly
 She showed you joy and misery,
 Taught what was good, and what was ill,
 What would save life, and what would kill.
 Thus gone, amongst you I may live,
 And dead, yet speak, and counsel give.
 Farewell, my birds, farewell, adieu!
 I happy am if well with you.

IN THANKFUL REMEMBRANCE FOR MY DEAR HUSBAND'S SAFE
 ARRIVAL, SEPTEMBER 3, 1662.

What shall I render to thy name,
 Or how thy praises speak;
 My thanks how shall I testify?
 O Lord, thou knowest I'm weak.

I owe so much, so little can
 Return unto thy name,
 Confusion seizes on my soul,
 And I am filled with shame.

Oh, thou that hearest prayers, Lord,
 To thee shall come all flesh;
 Thou hast me heard and answeréd,
 My complaints have had access.

What did I ask for but thou gavest?
 What could I more desire
 But thankfulness e'en all my days?
 I humbly this require.

Thy mercies, Lord, have been so great,
 In number numberless,
 Impossible for to recount
 Or any way express.

Oh, help thy saints that sought thy face
 To return unto thee praise,
 And walk before thee as they ought
 In strict and upright ways.

["This was the last thing written in that book by my dear and honored mother."—*Note by Simon Bradstreet, Jr.*]

It is difficult for us to reconstruct in imagination the days of the New England woman of the first generation transplanted from the Old World. Our lives are too remote from theirs in all external conditions to enable us to picture, save in outline, the interests and the occupations with which they were most concerned. But it is not difficult to form the image of a character like Mrs. Bradstreet's, as it is shown in her own writing, under the conditions of life which we know must have existed for her. It is the image of a sweet, devout, serene, and affectionate nature, of a woman faithfully discharging the multiplicity of duties which fell upon the mother of many children in those days when little help from outside could be had; when the mother must provide for all their wants with scanty means of supply, and must watch over their health with the consciousness that little help from without was to be had in case of even serious need. I fancy her occupying herself in the intervals of household cares with the books which her own small library and her father's afforded, and writing, with pains and modest satisfaction, the verses which were so highly esteemed at the time, but which for us have so little intrinsic interest. She cherished in herself and in her children the things of the mind and of the spirit; and, if such memory as her verses have secured for her depend rather on the rare circumstance of a woman's writing them at the time when she did, and in the place where she lived, than upon their poetic worth, it is a memory honorable to her, and it happily preserves the name of a good woman, among whose descendants has been more than one poet whose verses reflect lustre on her own.*—*Charles Eliot Norton.*

Anne Dudley Bradstreet, the earliest New England poet, was born in Northampton, England, about 1612. She was a daughter of Thomas Dudley, one of the founders of Boston and a governor of the Massachusetts colony. For ten years before his removal to New England, Thomas Dudley was steward of the estate of the Earl of Lincoln. His first child was a son, Samuel, born in 1610. The daughter was a delicate and precocious child. "In my young years, about six or seven, as I take it, I began to make conscience of my ways, and what I knew was sinfull, as lying, disobedience to Parents, etc., I avoided it . . . I also found much comfort in reading the Scriptures." The family removed to Boston in Lincolnshire, remaining there for some years, and came under the powerful and permanent influence of Rev. John Cotton. In 1628, at the age of sixteen, Anne Dudley was married to Simon Bradstreet, a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, whom circumstances had placed under the same roof with her for years before their marriage. The first two years of married life were spent in England, and it was now that the girl's mind came under the influence of Du Bartas and other poets. Both her husband and her father joined Winthrop's colony, both being made assistants to the governor; and she sailed with them from Southampton for Massachusetts in 1630. "After a short time," are her words in her account of her religious experience, "I changed my condition, and was married, and came into this country, where I found a new world and new manners, at which my heart rose. But after I was convinced it was the way of God, I submitted to it and joined the church at Boston." Their homes were first at Cambridge and then at Ipswich, where Rev. Nathaniel Ward, who afterward wrote "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," became their strong personal friend. In 1644 the Bradstreets removed to Andover, where, in the present North Andover, their house still stands. Mrs. Bradstreet died in 1672. Her husband, the "Nestor of New England," lived until 1697, dying in Salem at the age of ninety-four. He had held high office in the colony for upwards of sixty years, having served as governor for seven years before the

*Through one of her children she is the ancestress of Richard Henry Dana, through another of Oliver Wendell Holmes.

taking away of the charter in 1686, his wife's brother, Joseph Dudley, being appointed president of New England, and being elected to the office again upon the imprisonment of Andros three years later.

The first edition of Mrs. Bradstreet's poems was printed in London in 1650. Rev. John Woodbridge, who had come to New England in 1634, and had married Mrs. Bradstreet's younger sister, upon his return to England in 1647 took with him a number of Mrs. Bradstreet's poems in manuscript, and had them printed in London without her knowledge, with a number of commendatory epistles in verse from friends and admirers of the author following his own preface. "The 'Tenth Muse' could not have been a woman if, when she received a copy of the book, she did not seize upon it, in spite of her protestations, with a fluttering, pleased excitement. But a perusal of her writings in type revealed to her mortified gaze the extent of her own shortcomings and the inevitable blunders of the printer." She undertook a revision; but the second edition, revised and enlarged, was not published (by John Foster, Boston) until 1678, six years after her death. A third edition was printed at Boston in 1758. In 1867 a superb edition of all her works in prose and verse, edited with a scholarly introduction by John Harvard Ellis, was published in Charlestown, Mass., by Abram E. Cutter; and in 1897 another beautiful and fully illustrated edition, with an introduction by Charles Eliot Norton, by "The Duodecimos."

Quite half of the bulk of Mrs. Bradstreet's volume is taken up by the dull and ponderous poems on "The Four Elements," "The Four Humours," "The Four Ages," "The Four Seasons," and "The Four Monarchies." Much besides is not intrinsically interesting; but some of the poems, like "Contemplations" and the little poems revealing her personal life, have distinct charm. Others, like most of those selected for the present leaflet, are interesting for the lights they throw on early New England history and feeling. The "Dialogue between Old England and New," which stands first in the present leaflet, was written in the year of the outbreak of the Civil War in England.

See Helen Campbell's "Anne Bradstreet and Her Time," a sympathetic and careful study, made doubly valuable by the large number of Mrs. Bradstreet's poems embodied at the appropriate places in the text. See also the chapter on Mrs. Bradstreet in Anderson's "Memorable Women," and especially the admirable critical chapter by Moses Coit Tyler in his "History of American Literature during the Colonial Time."

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No. 160.

First Graduates of Harvard College.

Class of 1642.

FROM THE "MEMORIALS OF THE GRADUATES OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY," BY JOHN FARMER, PUBLISHED IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VOL. IV. (1834).

I. BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE, D.D., whom Dr. Calamy calls "the lasting glory, as well as the first fruits of the college in New England, as Bishop Usher was at that of Dublin," was son of Rev. John Woodbridge, minister of the parish of Stanton in Wiltshire, and was born in the year 1622. His paternal ancestors for several generations were clergymen. His mother was daughter of Rev. Robert Parker, a learned puritan divine, and author of *De Signo Crucis*, *De descensu Christi ad Inferos*, and *De Politeia Ecclesiastica*,—works much esteemed by the dissenting clergymen of his time. His brother, Rev. John Woodbridge, was partly educated at Oxford, and came to this country in 1634, with his uncle Rev. Thomas Parker, and afterwards became the first minister of Andover, Mass. Benjamin Woodbridge had been a member of Magdalen College, in Oxford, but did not complete his education there, although he was afterwards admitted to the degree of Master of Arts at that university. For some reason he left his native country, and joined his friends in New England. Here his brother had married into one of the first families; here was his uncle Parker, one of the first scholars of the time, and Rev. James Noyes, who had married his mother's sister, and several other friends, by whom he was cordially received. The college at Cambridge had commenced anew under the auspices of

President Dunster. New students had entered, a milder government was instituted, and all its concerns assumed a more favorable aspect than they had done under his predecessor. Mr. Woodbridge became a member of this seminary soon after his arrival, and, when he was graduated, was placed at the head of the class,—a rank to which he seems to have been entitled on account of his family connections, and his literary acquisitions, which were probably surpassed by none of his colleagues.

He returned to England soon after completing his studies, and within a few years was known as a popular and highly accomplished preacher. He is first represented as being “an eminent herald of heaven” at Salisbury, situated in a broad, pleasant vale, on the river Avon, in his own native county. He had remained here but a few years when he visited Newbury, in Berkshire, where his eloquence and talents attracted the attention of several distinguished persons, and he was invited to succeed Rev. William Twiss, D.D., who was long the minister of that place, and whose name was familiar to the clergy of New England, by his being the president of the Westminster assembly of divines, and by his works on theology, some of which are read at the present day by American students. In this station Mr. Woodbridge shone as a scholar, a preacher, a casuist, and a Christian. His influence is said to have been so great that he brought the whole town, which had been much divided into religious parties, to a state of harmony in opinion and unity of worship, which produced a great and highly favorable change in the general aspect of society. This he effected by great labor and unceasing devotion to his parochial and ministerial duties. It was his custom for several years to preach three times a week, and to give an exposition of some portion of Scripture an hour every morning. His success was so remarkable that before he left Newbury there was scarcely a family in town “where there was not repeating, praying, reading, and singing of psalms in it.” This is stated on the authority of Dr. Calamy.

After the restoration of King Charles II. he was one of his chaplains in ordinary, and on one occasion while in that capacity preached before his majesty. He was one of the commissioners of the conference at the Savoy in London, and was desirous of an accommodation, and regretted the failure of the efforts made to effect it. His chance for preferment in the church was perhaps superior to that of any of the early sons of Harvard who returned to England, but his conscientious scruples were an insuperable

bar to his advancement in ecclesiastical dignity. The canonry of Windsor was offered to him, but his determination not to conform to the ceremonies of the church led him to decline its acceptance. In 1662 he was silenced by the act of uniformity, which went into operation in August of that year, and which deprived more than two thousand ministers, lecturers, masters, and fellows of colleges, and schoolmasters of their livings. As he could not after this preach publicly, he maintained a private meeting at Newbury, whither he had returned after an absence of a year or two. In 1671, upon some relaxation of the rigorous measures against the non-conformists, he resumed his public labors, and continued them until about the time of his death, which occurred at Inglefield, in Berkshire, November 1, 1684, in the sixty-third year of his age. He had been the minister of Newbury, in public and private, nearly forty years. Though he suffered less perhaps than most of his dissenting brethren, yet he did not purchase any mitigation of ecclesiastical severity by bending his principles to suit the times in which he lived. He lived and died a non-conformist. He generally received, notwithstanding his non-conformity, the respect of good judges of true and real worth, however much his religious sentiments differed from theirs. Dr. Calamy says of him that "he was a universally accomplished person, one of a clear and strong reason and of an exact and profound judgment. His learning was very considerable, and he was a charming preacher, having a most commanding voice and air. His temper was staid and cheerful, and his behavior very genteel and obliging. He was a man of great generosity and of an exemplary moderation,—one addicted to no faction, but of a catholic spirit. In short, so eminent was his usefulness as to cast no small reflection on those who had a hand in silencing and confining him." Anthony Wood acknowledges that "he was accounted among his brethren a learned and a mighty man."

His publications were: 1. *A Sermon on Justification by Faith*, 1653; 2. *The Method of Grace in the Justification of Sinners*, being a defence of the preceding against Mr. Eyre, 4to, 1656. Of this work Calamy says it "deserves the perusal of all such as would see the point of justification nervously and exactly handled." 3. *Church Members set in Joint*, 4to, 1656. He also published in 1661 a work written by his uncle-in-law, Rev. James Noyes, entitled *Moses and Aaron, or The Rights of the Church and State*, containing two disputations. His name is subscribed to the lines "upon the tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John Cot-

ton, late teacher of the church of Boston in New England," published in the *Magnalia*, vol. i. 258, 259. *Calamy, Account of Ejected Ministers*, ii. 94, 95. *Non-conformist's Memorial*, iii. 290. *Winthrop, Hist. N.E.*, ii. 161. *1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, x. 32. *Holmes, Annals of America*, i. 414, 415. *Allen, Biographical Dict.*, Art. WOODBRIDGE. *Mather, Magnalia*, ii. 20.

2. GEORGE DOWNING was born in the city of London in 1624, and accompanied his parents to this country when about thirteen years of age. His father, Emanuel Downing, was a great friend to New England, and was brother-in-law to John Winthrop, one of the principal founders of the colony of Massachusetts and its first governor. On his arrival here as early as 1638 he settled at Salem, where he was soon chosen representative to the general court, and continued in office five years. His son George was placed under the tuition of Rev. John Fiske, who resided at Salem as a teacher several years, and by him was fitted for college. When he entered the new institution at Cambridge, it was under the instruction of Nathaniel Eaton, a man found to be not well tempered for his station, and who was therefore removed from it; but, on his entering his junior year, it was placed under the presidency of Henry Dunster. He remained in this country after he received his Bachelor's degree until 1645, when he went in a ship by way of Newfoundland to the West Indies, his business being to instruct the seamen. He visited the Islands of St. Christopher's, Barbadoes, and Nevis, and in each of these places preached to such acceptance that he received very considerable offers to remain there. But he proceeded to England, where he was soon brought into notice, being, as Governor Winthrop says, "a very able scholar and of ready wit and fluent utterance." He was appointed chaplain in the regiment of Colonel John Okey, in the army of Lord Thomas Fairfax, who had the chief command of the parliament forces in the north, on the resignation of Lord Essex. In 1653 he was commissary general, and about the same time scout-master general of the English army in Scotland. In the same year he was employed in negotiations with the Duke of Savoy, and at home served in the army, with which, however, he was not long connected.

Having great talents for the speedy discharge of any trusts committed to him, he soon attracted the notice of Oliver Cromwell. He seems to have been fitted by nature for scenes of political manœuvring, and his principles were of such flexible character that he could easily accommodate them to any service which

the times required. It was his aptness for State affairs and his great assiduity in business that gained for him the distinctions of rank and office which he enjoyed. In 1655, being secretary to John Thurloe, who was secretary of Cromwell, he visited the French king on public business and communicated his instructions in Latin. In 1656 he was chosen member of parliament from the Scotch borough of Haddington in Scotland, under General Monk's instructions. In 1657 he was appointed minister to Holland by Cromwell, who, in assigning him this station in a letter of credence, says, "George Downing is a person of eminent quality, and after a long trial of his fidelity, probity, and diligence in several and various negotiations well approved and valued by us, him we have thought fitting to send to your Lordships, dignified with the character of our agent," etc. He had the same employment under Richard Cromwell in 1660, and his services in this station appear to have been great, of which abundant evidence is afforded in Thurloe's State Papers.

While in the Netherlands he seems to have had considerable acquaintance with De Thou, minister from France, who had much respect for his diplomatic abilities. In July, 1658, he wrote to his government that De Thou was anxious to obtain the picture of Cromwell as a special favor. By attempting to prevent the English at the Hague from praying for Charles Stuart he displeased the queen of Bohemia so much that she said she would no more worship with them. This attempt moreover nearly cost him his life; for three of his own countrymen watched for him one evening with the intention of assassinating him, but were unsuccessful. He wrote on the 9th of August that he had warm debates with De Witt concerning the English ships captured by the Dutch in the India seas. He was active in watching the plans of the royalists on the continent, and prompt in communicating them to his government. In the last year of his mission he was employed in bringing about a peace between Denmark and Sweden and in ascertaining the designs and proceedings of the friends to the exiled Charles.

When he had become convinced that there was a prospect that this monarch would be restored to the throne of his ancestors, he changed sides, and took every opportunity to show his loyalty to the king. He was soon elected burgess for Morpeth, in Northumberland, to serve in the parliament, which convened at Westminster May 8, 1661. Previous to this the order of knighthood had been conferred on him. He was appointed about the same

time by Charles to the same station in Holland, which he had held under the Cromwells. In March, 1662, while in that country, in order to show his zeal and love for his majesty, he procured the arrest of John Okey, Miles Corbet, and John Barkstead, three of the judges who had condemned to death Charles I., and sent them to England for trial. Okey had been the friend of Downing, who served in his regiment as chaplain. With the other two he had co-operated in the cause of parliament. His conduct, therefore, in this transaction was justly reprobated. It is thus spoken of by his contemporary Pepys, who had been a clerk in Downing's office: "This morning [March 12, 1662] we had news that Sir G. Downing (like a perfidious rogue, though the action is good and of service to the king, yet he cannot with a good conscience do it) hath taken Okey, Corbet, and Barkstead at Delft, in Holland, and sent them home in the Blackmore. Sir W. Penn talking to me this afternoon of what a strange thing it is for Downing to do this, he told me of a speech he made to the Lord's States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observance that he was when he came from the traitor and rebel Cromwell, by whom I am sure he hath got all he hath in the world, and they know it, too." Under date of the 17th, mentioning the arrival of the judges, Pepys adds: "The captain tells me that the Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir George Downing would not be answered so, though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villain for his pains."

In 1663 he was created a baronet, and is styled of East-Hatley in Cambridgeshire. In 1667 his majesty's commissioners of the treasury chose him for their secretary. The writer already quoted states under 1668 that Mr. Downing discoursed with him about having given advice to his majesty for prosecuting the Dutch war, but that the king had hearkened to other counsellors, and thus subjected the nation to loss. He also informed Pepys at this time that when in Holland "he had so good spies that he hath had the keys taken out of De Witt's pocket when he was abed, and his closet opened and papers brought to him and left in his hands for an hour, and carried back and laid in the place again, and the keys put into his pocket again. He says he hath had their most private debates that have been but between two or three of the chief of them brought to him—in an hour after that hath sent word thereof to the king."

In 1671 he was again sent to Holland to adjust some difficulties which had arisen between the English and the Dutch, but returning home, through fear or some other cause before he had executed the business of his mission to the satisfaction of the king, he was imprisoned in the tower of London. An article of news from England received in this country in 1672 says, "Sir George Downing is in the tower, it is said, because he returned from Holland, where he was sent ambassador, before his time. As it is reported he had no small share of abuse offered him there. They printed the sermons he preached in Oliver's time, and drew three pictures of him. 1. Preaching in a tub. Over it was written, *This I was*. 2. A treacherous courtier. Over it, *This I am*. 3. Hanging in a gibbet, and over it, *This I shall be*." He seems to have been afterwards released from confinement, and restored to royal favor. In the difficulties which the New England colonies had with Charles II., from 1679, Mr. Downing is represented as having been very friendly to Massachusetts. He died in 1684, the same year in which that colony was deprived of its charter, being about sixty years of age.

Governor Hutchinson says that Downing's character runs low with the best historians of England. It was much lower with his countrymen in New England; and it became a proverbial expression to say of a false man who betrayed his trust that he was an arrant George Downing.

Rev. Mr. Felt, in his *Annals of Salem*, thus speaks of him: "He was evidently a person of respectable talents. The responsible trusts committed to him under different administrations show that he was no ordinary statesman. Whatever government he served, whether of parliament, the Cromwells, or Charles II., he did it with faithfulness. The deed of his apprehending those who had fought for the same cause with him is a dark spot on his reputation. Could his own defence of this affair be read, he would probably state that it was a command of his majesty, and he must obey him, though at the cost of ruin to his friends. But still it would have been far more for his fame had he said: Sire, spare me in this thing, though at the expense of all my honors and treasures, yea, my life itself. In reference to his serving diligently the several governments under which he fell, there is no conclusive proof that he was a greater friend to tyranny than to freedom."

Sir George left a family, and his descendants have enjoyed stations of honor and wealth. His wife, whom he married in

1654, was a sister of the Right Hon. Charles Howard, of Naworth, in the county of Cumberland. His son George, who married Catharine, eldest daughter of James, earl of Salisbury, was one of the tellers in the exchequer in 1680. Charles, another son, was living in London in 1700, and sold the farm in Salem, which formerly belonged to his grandfather, Emanuel Downing. George, son of George and Catharine Downing, and grandson to Sir George, was in three different parliaments,—1710, 1713, and 1727. He died in 1747, without issue, and left a splendid bequest for the foundation of a college at Cambridge, England, incorporated in 1800, on a more liberal foundation than any other in that renowned university. This bequest exceeds £150,000. The assertion made in the *Magna Britannia* and by several English writers that Sir George was son of Calibute Downing, LL.D., is satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Savage in a copious note in his edition of Winthrop. *Winthrop Hist. N.E.*, ii. 240, 243. *Savage, Note in do.*, ii. 240, 242. *Felt, Annals of Salem*, 156, 168–170, 531. *Hutchinson, Hist. Mass.*, i. 107, ii. 10. *Wood, Athenæ Oxoniensis*, ii. 27. *Memoirs of Pepys*, i. 134, 135; ii. 58, 291. *Dyer, Hist. Univ. Cambridge*, ii. 440–447. *Johnson, Hist. N.E.*, 165. *Ibid.* in 2 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vii. 29. *Lempriere, Univ. Biog. (Lord's Edit.)*, ii. 552. *Marvell, Seasonable Argument*, cited by Mr. Savage. *Mather, Magnalia*, ii. 20. *Magna Britannia*, ii. 19.

3. JOHN BULKLEY, son of Rev. Peter Bulkley, by his first wife, was born in England in 1619. His father came to this country in 1635, and was one of the first settlers of Concord, Mass., and was esteemed as one of the ablest writers and divines of New England. He died March 9, 1659, aged seventy-six, leaving three sons who were educated for the ministry. Another son not thus educated was graduated at Harvard in 1660, and was distinguished in civil life. John was probably prepared for college by his father, who was regarded as an excellent classical scholar. At the age of twenty-three he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The next year after he was graduated he joined the expedition which was sent out by the government of Massachusetts to arrest Samuel Gorton, a fanatic, who gave much disturbance to the rigid puritans of New England. After receiving his second degree in 1645, and prior to 1651, he embarked for England, where he had relations of wealth and distinction. He was settled in the ministry in the town of Fordham, in the county of Essex, and continued to exercise his clerical

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functions with good acceptance and success. He might have remained here during life but for the act of uniformity, which silenced his friend and classmate Woodbridge. He refused to conform to the ceremonies, and thereby lost his living, and was prevented from exercising his ministry in any part of England. He now turned his attention to medicine, and was soon qualified to practise as a physician, which he did with good success; and, as Dr. Calamy observes, administered "natural and spiritual physic together." He is said to have had a high reputation for his learning among those capable of estimating his talents. He was distinguished for his piety, and it is remarked that "his whole life was a continual sermon." After he became a physician his residence was at Wapping, in the suburbs of London, and he continued there or in the vicinity until his death. He occasionally appeared in the pulpit after the severity against the non-conformists had in some degree abated. But yet, says Dr. Calamy, "he might truly be said to preach every day in the week, and seldom did he visit his patients without reading a lecture of divinity to them and praying with them." He died near the tower of London in 1689, aged seventy years. His brother Peter died at Concord, Mass., the preceding year, in his forty-fifth year. *Calamy, Account of Ejected Ministers*, ii. 311, 312.

4. WILLIAM HUBBARD was son of William Hubbard who came to New England as early as 1630, and after a few years established himself at Ipswich, Mass., which town he represented in the general court six years, between 1638 and 1643. He removed to Boston, and died about 1670, leaving three sons,—William, Richard, and Nathaniel. William, the eldest, was born in England in 1621, and received his Bachelor's degree at the age of twenty-one. It does not appear where he spent the time from this period until he had passed the age of thirty-five years. But he had within that time studied theology, and assisted Rev. Thomas Cobbet in the ministry at Ipswich. About the year 1657 he was ordained as the colleague of Mr. Cobbet, who, though in the prime of his usefulness, required an assistant on account of the extent and arduousness of his ministerial labors. Ipswich was at that time a desirable situation for a young clergyman. There was hardly any place in New England at the time of Mr. Hubbard's settlement which had so large a proportion among its population of gifted, intelligent minds. It had been settled "by men of good rank and quality, many of them having the yearly revenue of large lands in England before they came to this wilderness." As

Mr. Cobbet continued active in his ministerial duties until old age, Mr. Hubbard must have enjoyed considerable leisure, which appears to have been employed in historical investigations. But his success was not equal to the wishes of the present generation, although his labors procured for him much favor and respect from his contemporaries. His first historical work was "A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in 1676 and 1677, with a Supplement concerning the War with the Pequods in 1637." 4to, pp. 132. To which is annexed a Table and Postscript in 12 pages, and also "A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, from Piscataqua to Pemmaquid," 4to, pp. 88. The whole was published at Boston in 1677. The same work was printed in London in 1677 under the title of "The Present State of New England." He was in England in 1678, and might have gone thither for the purpose of having the work published there.

His history of New England was completed in 1680, to which period the narrative of events is continued. In that year it was submitted to the examination of the general court of Massachusetts, who appointed a committee consisting of William Stoughton, Captain Daniel Fisher, Lieutenant William Johnson, and Captain William Johnson, "to peruse it and give their opinion." The chirography of Mr. Hubbard was not easy to read, and this probably was one reason why the committee did not complete the service assigned them for nearly two years afterwards. On the 11th of October, 1682, the general court granted fifty pounds to the author "as a manifestation of thankfulness" for this history, "he transcribing it fairly, *that it may be more easily perused.*" It appears that he procured some person to copy his work, as the MS. which now exists in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and fairly written in upwards of 300 pages, is not in his handwriting, but has his emendations. It was published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, encouraged by a very liberal subscription of the legislature to it for the use of the Commonwealth, and it makes the fifth and sixth volumes of the second series of the Society's Collections. It was thought at the time of its publication that it would bring a considerable accession of facts to New England history, but its value was much lessened by the publication of Governor Winthrop's MSS. by Mr. Savage, in 1825 and 1826. From this work Mr. Hubbard derived most of his facts, and sometimes the very language down to 1649.

In 1685 he lost his venerable colleague, Mr. Cobbet, who died on the 5th of November, aged seventy-seven. For two years after-

wards he was alone in the ministry; but in 1687 he received as his colleague Rev. John Denison, grandson of his early friend and parishioner, Major-General Daniel Denison. The connection was short, as Mr. Denison died in September, 1689. Three years afterwards Rev. John Rogers, son of President Rogers, was ordained as colleague to Mr. Hubbard, whom he survived many years. The connection was probably the more agreeable to him, as Mr. Rogers was nephew of the first wife of Mr. Hubbard.

In 1688 Mr. Hubbard was invited to officiate at the commencement that year, and received from Sir Edmund Andros the following notice of his appointment:—

Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, etc.

THE REV. MR. WILLIAM HUBBARD, Greeting:

“Whereas the Presidency or Rectorship of Harvard College, in Cambridge, within this his Majesty’s territory and dominion of New England, is now vacant, I do, therefore, with the advice of council, by these presents, constitute, authorize, and appoint you, the said William Hubbard, to exercise and officiate as President of the said college at the next commencement, to be had for the same in as full and ample a manner as any former President or Rector hath or ought to have enjoyed.

“Given under my hand and seal at Boston the 2d day of June, in the fourth year of his Majesty’s reign, Annoque Domini 1688.”

If Mr. Hubbard officiated at the ensuing commencement, when it appears no degrees were conferred, we can readily account for the reason that Increase Mather was not invited (see Dr. Eliot’s Biog. Dict., Art. HUBBARD), as he was at that time in England as agent of the colony. If he officiated in 1684, the year President Rogers died, as seems to be intimated by Dr. Eliot, there was a propriety in his being selected, although “Increase Mather was in the neighborhood,” as Mr. Hubbard was the oldest clergyman then living in New England, of the alumni of the college, and his character and talents entitled him to the distinction. Dr. Eliot, whose characters have been considered as drawn with considerable discrimination, bestows a full share of praise on Mr. Hubbard, saying, “He was certainly for many years the most eminent minister in the county of Essex, equal to any in the province for learning and candor, and superior to all his contemporaries as a writer.” Governor Hutchinson gives him the character of “a

man of learning and of a candid, benevolent mind, accompanied with a good degree of catholicism."

The publications of Mr. Hubbard, besides those already named, were: the Election Sermon, 1676, entitled *The Happiness of a People in the Wisdom of their Rulers directing, and in obedience of their brethren attending, unto what Israel ought to do*, 4to, 1676; A Fast Sermon, 1682; A Funeral Discourse on Major-General Daniel Denison, 1684; and A Testimony to the Order of the Gospel in the Churches of New England, in connection with Rev. John Higginson, of Salem.

Mr. Hubbard married Margaret Rogers, daughter of his predecessor, Rev. Nathaniel Rogers. A second wife, whom he married in his seventy-third year, was Mary, widow of Samuel Pearce. This marriage, according to Rev. Mr. Frisbie, excited the displeasure of his parish, "for, though she was a serious, worthy woman, she was rather in the lower scenes of life, and not sufficiently fitted, as they thought, for the station." Mr. Hubbard had as many as three children, born before the death of their grandfather Rogers, in 1655. Their names were: John, Nathaniel, and Margaret. John and his wife Ann were living in Boston in 1680. John Hubbard, who was graduated in 1695, is supposed to have been a son of John or Nathaniel, as was Nathaniel Hubbard, who was graduated in 1698. Margaret married John Pyncheon, Esq., of Springfield, where she died November 11, 1716. Her children were: John, born at Ipswich, who had a large family, and died July 12, 1742; Margaret, who married Captain Nathaniel Downing; and William, born at Ipswich 1689, married Catharine, daughter of Rev. Daniel Brewer, and died January 1, 1741, leaving a number of children, of whom William was graduated in 1743. *Allen, Biog. Dict.*, Art. HUBBARD. *Eliot, do.* *Holmes, Annals of America*, i. 490. *Hutchinson, Hist. Mass.*, ii. 147. *1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vii. 253, x. 32-35. *Ibid*, 2d Series, ii. *Editors' Preface to Hist. N.E.* Rev. Joseph B. Felt, MS. Letter.

5. SAMUEL BELLINGHAM, M.D., son of Richard Bellingham, governor of Massachusetts colony, was born in England, and probably accompanied his father to this country in 1634. Having completed his academical studies and taken his first degree, he commenced the study of medicine, and repaired to Europe to enjoy those advantages in completing his professional studies, which New England did not at that time afford. He appears to have been in England in 1660, about which time he met with

Increase Mather, then on a tour in that country, and they entered into an arrangement to travel in company on the continent. But he was soon after obliged to go to Holland on some sudden emergency, and Mr. Mather considered himself as released from the engagement. Mr. Bellingham, however, afterwards travelled on the continent, was some time at Leyden, and obtained from that university the degree of Doctor of Medicine. It is believed that he visited his friends in New England once or twice after he first left it. He finally settled in London, where he married the widow Savage, and lived until he was between seventy and eighty years of age. He was the only son of Governor Bellingham, who survived his father. *MS. documents. Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather*, 22. *Mather, Magnalia*, ii. 23.

6. JOHN WILSON was son of Rev. John Wilson, the first minister of the First Church in Boston, and grandson of Rev. William Wilson, D.D., prebendary of St. Paul's in London, whose wife was niece of Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury. He was born in London in September, 1621, came with his father to New England on his second voyage hither. Dr. Cotton Mather gives the following account of an accident which happened to him in his early years: "When a child he fell upon his head from a loft four stories high into the street, from whence he was taken up for dead, and so battered and bruised and bloody with his fall that it struck horror into the beholders; but Mr. Wilson [the father] had a wonderful return of his prayers in the recovery of the child, both unto *life* and unto *sense*, insomuch that he continued unto *old age* a faithful, painful, usef^{ul} minister of the Gospel." After preaching several years he was invited to assist Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, Mass., and was ordained as his "coadjutor" in 1649. Johnson calls him *pastor* to the church at Dorchester. He continued at this place two years after his settlement, and then removed to the neighboring town of Medfield, where he was minister forty years. He died August 23, 1691, at the age of seventy. He preached the Artillery Election Sermon in 1668, but it was not printed, and it does not appear that he ever published anything.

Mr. Wilson married Sarah Hooker, daughter of Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, Conn. His son John was baptized in his grandfather Wilson's church at Boston, July 8, 1649. His children born in Medfield were: Thomas, 1652; Elizabeth, in 1653; Elizabeth, 2d, in 1656, who married Rev. Thomas Weld, of Dun-

stable; Increase; John, 2d, in 1660, who resided in Braintree, and was probably the same who was one of his majesty's justices there in 1705; and Thomas, 2d, in 1662. Another daughter is said to have been Susan, the wife of Rev. Grindal Rawson, who was graduated in 1678.

Several of the descendants of Mr. Wilson have been educated at Harvard. *Mather, Magnalia*, i. 288. *Harris, Memorials of the First Church in Dorchester*, 16. *Records of the First Church in Boston*. *Medfield Town Records*. *Whitman, Hist. Artill. Co.*, 142. *Savage, Notes in Winthrop*, i. 222, 310, 311. *Johnson, Hist. N.E.*, 165. *F. Jackson, MS. Extracts from Records*.

7. HENRY SALTONSTALL, M.D., son of Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the patentees and first settlers of Massachusetts, was born in England, and accompanied his father to New England in 1630. In 1639 he was admitted a member of the Artillery Company in Boston, and was probably one of the youngest of the company at that time. Three years after he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Harvard, and soon left the country. He went to England, studied medicine, and in 1644 visited Holland. He was in Italy in 1649, and received from the University of Padua the degree of Doctor of Medicine. In June, 1652, he received a similar honor from the University of Oxford. He did not return to this country to reside, although some of his relations remained here, and the family have continued here with much reputation to the present time. Samuel Saltonstall, one of his brothers, lived in New England more than fifty years, and died at Watertown, where his father resided while he remained in this country, January 21, 1696. *MS. Papers. W. Winthrop, MS. Catalogue*.

8. TOBIAS BARNARD, after he graduated, returned to England. To what family he belonged I have not ascertained. Mr. Prince in his *Annals* mentions a Mr. Barnard as the first minister of Weymouth. A volume of records in the clerk's office in Boston, which gives the births in Weymouth for several years, contains the name of Massachel Barnard of the latter place, as early as 1637, in which year and in 1639 two of his children were born; but nowhere is he described as the minister of Weymouth. The graduate *may have* belonged to the Weymouth family, but there appears no evidence that he did. In the *Theses* of the first class, published by Governor Hutchinson, his name is placed last. *Johnson, Hist. N.E.*, 165. *Prince, Annals of N.E.*, i. 151.

9. NATHANIEL BREWSTER, B.D., supposed to have been

grandson of Elder William Brewster, one of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and one who received his education at the University of Cambridge, in England, was, if born at Plymouth, the first native in all North America who received a collegiate degree in this country. After leaving college he followed the example of several of his classmates, and sought in England that sphere of usefulness and that preferment which could not be enjoyed here. Governor Hutchinson says he settled in the ministry in the county of Norfolk. From his having received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity from the University of Dublin it may be inferred that he was some time in that city, and possibly associated with Rev. Samuel Mather, or, if not, that he obtained his degree through the influence of this early friend and companion. He might have continued in England during his life had not the general ejectment of ministers under Charles II. taken place. When that event occurred he left the country, and arrived at Boston in 1662 with several others who had been or were afterwards in the ministry. After preaching at different places and probably having visited his friends at Plymouth and at Norwich, in Connecticut, he went to Long Island, and was settled over the church in Brook Haven in 1665, and there continued until his death in 1690. He must have been nearly seventy years of age. It is a tradition in the family that he married Sarah, daughter of Roger Ludlow, deputy governor of Connecticut. He left three sons,—John, Timothy, and Daniel, whose descendants continue, and are respectable on the Island. His son Daniel was a magistrate in Brook Haven many years. Some of his descendants have received the honors of Yale College. *Wood, Hist. of Towns on Long Island*, 48. *Hutchinson, Hist. Mass.*, i. 107. *Roxbury Church Records*.

Mr. Farmer prefixed his Memorials of the graduates of Harvard University in the classes of 1642–46, from which the biographies of the graduates in the first class are here reprinted, with this note:—

Dr. BELKNAP, the accomplished historian of New Hampshire, in 1793, a few years after he left New Hampshire, issued proposals for publishing a work to be continued in volumes, entitled AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY, in which, among various kinds of persons distinguished in America, he proposed to give an *historical account* of "THE DECEASED GRADUATES OF HARVARD COLLEGE." One volume was published during the life of the author, and another soon after his death; but neither of these brought the work down to so late a period as to include any account of the Graduates of Harvard, and from that time to the present no publication has appeared, proposing to give an account of the deceased sons of the oldest university in the country. The beginning of so desirable an object is here attempted, and should the attempt be sufficiently encouraged, it may be continued in a separate form, for which proposals have already been issued.

In the autumn of 1636, only six years from the first settlement of Boston, the General Court of Massachusetts voted £400, equal to a year's rate of the whole colony, towards the erection of a public "school or college." An order was passed the year following that the college should be at Newtown. In May, 1638, the name of Newtown was changed to Cambridge, in honor of the English university where many of the leading men of the colony had received their education; and in March, 1639, it was ordered that the college should be called Harvard College, in honor of Rev. John Harvard, who, dying in September, 1638, had bequeathed to it £779 17s. 2d., one-half of his estate, together with his library of 320 volumes. The first person placed in charge of the institution—in 1637—was Nathaniel Eaton; but he proved most unfit, and was dismissed and left the colony. He was called simply *Master* or *Professor*. On the 27th of August, 1640, Rev. Henry Dunster was placed over the institution, with the title of *President*.

"The first Commencement took place on the second Tuesday of August, 1642. Upon this novel and auspicious occasion, the venerable fathers of the land, the governor, magistrates, and ministers from all parts, with others in great numbers, repaired to Cambridge and attended with delight to refined displays of European learning, on a spot which but just before was the abode of savages. It was a day which, on many accounts, must have been singularly interesting. The degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on nine young gentlemen, who were the first to receive the honors of a college in British America, and who proved themselves not unworthy of that distinction by the respectability and eminence which they afterwards attained, both in this country and in Europe."—PEIRCE.

The oldest printed document which clearly recognizes the existence of Harvard College is the pamphlet entitled "New England's First Fruits in respect to the Progress of Learning in the College at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay, etc." It is a letter dated Boston, Sept. 26, 1642,—the very year of the graduation of Harvard's first class of nine members. It was published in London the next year as part of a larger pamphlet. It gives an account of the first Commencement, with a list of the graduates and the subjects of the Latin theses, also the rules of the college and the order of studies." The second part of "New England's First Fruits," containing this account of Harvard College and a hopeful account of the prospects in Massachusetts in 1642, is reprinted in Old South Leaflet No. 51. In Mather's *Magnalia*, under the title of *Sal Gentium*, we find a completer account of the founding and first years of Harvard College than in any other work of equally early date, and with it biographies of eminent persons educated at the college. See also Johnson's "Wonder-working Providence," Winthrop's Journal, Hubbard's History of New England, Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. See the histories of Harvard by Quincy, Peirce, and others, the chapter on the early history of the college by Samuel Eliot in the "Harvard Book," and George E. Ellis's address at the dedication of the Harvard statue in 1884.

John Farmer, the compiler of the biographies of the members of the first graduating class at Harvard, reprinted in the present leaflet, was born at Chelmsford, Mass., 1789, and died at Concord, N.H., 1838. He devoted his life largely to genealogical and antiquarian labors, was one of the founders of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and at the time of his death its corresponding secretary. Among his more important works are his edition of Belknap's History of New Hampshire, and the "Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England."

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Franklin's Boyhood in Boston.

FROM FRANKLIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

DEAR SON: I have ever had pleasure in obtaining any little anecdotes of my ancestors. You may remember the inquiries I made among the remains of my relations when you were with me in England, and the journey I undertook for that purpose. Imagining it may be equally agreeable to you to know the circumstances of my life, many of which you are yet unacquainted with, and expecting the enjoyment of a week's uninterrupted leisure in my present country retirement, I sit down to write them for you. To which I have besides some other inducements. Having emerged from the poverty and obscurity in which I was born and bred, to a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world, and having gone so far through life with a considerable share of felicity, the conducting means I made use of, which with the blessing of God so well succeeded, my posterity may like to know, as they may find some of them suitable to their own situations, and therefore fit to be imitated.

That felicity, when I reflected on it, has induced me sometimes to say, that were it offered to my choice, I should have no objection to a repetition of the same life from its beginning, only asking the advantages authors have in a second edition to correct some faults of the first. So I might, besides correcting the faults, change some sinister accidents and events of it for others more favorable. But though this were denied, I should still accept the offer. Since such a repetition is not to be expected, the next thing most like living one's life over again seems to be a recollec-

tion of that life, and to make that recollection as durable as possible by putting it down in writing.

Hereby, too, I shall indulge the inclination so natural in old men, to be talking of themselves and their own past actions; and I shall indulge it without being tiresome to others, who, through respect to age, might conceive themselves obliged to give me a hearing, since this may be read or not as any one pleases. And, lastly (I may as well confess it, since my denial of it will be believed by nobody), perhaps I shall a good deal gratify my own *vanity*. Indeed, I scarce ever heard or saw the introductory words, "*Without vanity I may say,*" etc., but some vain thing immediately followed. Most people dislike vanity in others, whatever share they have of it themselves; but I give it fair quarter wherever I meet with it, being persuaded that it is often productive of good to the possessor, and to others that are within his sphere of action; and therefore, in many cases, it would not be altogether absurd if a man were to thank God for his vanity among the other comforts of life.

And now I speak of thanking God, I desire with all humility to acknowledge that I owe the mentioned happiness of my past life to His kind providence, which lead me to the means I used and gave them success. My belief of this induces me to *hope*, though I must not *presume*, that the same goodness will still be exercised toward me, in continuing that happiness, or enabling me to bear a fatal reverse, which I may experience as others have done; the complexion of my future fortune being known to Him only in whose power it is to bless to us even our afflictions.

The notes of one of my uncles (who had the same kind of curiosity in collecting family anecdotes), once put into my hands, furnished me with several particulars relating to our ancestors. From these notes I learned that the family had lived in the same village, Ecton, in Northamptonshire, for three hundred years, and how much longer he knew not (perhaps from the time when the name of Franklin, that before was the name of an order of people, was assumed by them as a surname when others took surnames all over the kingdom), on a freehold of about thirty acres, aided by the smith's business, which had continued in the family till his time, the eldest son being always bred to that business, a custom which he and my father followed as to their eldest sons. When I searched the registers at Ecton, I found an account of their births, marriages, and burials, from the year 1555 only, there being no

registers kept in that parish at any time preceding. By that register, I perceived that I was the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations back. My grandfather Thomas, who was born in 1598, lived at Ecton till he grew too old to follow business longer, when he went to live with his son John, a dyer at Banbury, in Oxfordshire, with whom my father served an apprenticeship. There my grandfather died and lies buried. We saw his gravestone in 1758. His eldest son Thomas lived in the house at Ecton, and left it with the land to his only child, a daughter, who, with her husband, one Fisher, of Wellingborough, sold it to Mr. Isted, now lord of the manor there. My grandfather had four sons that grew up, viz.: Thomas, John, Benjamin, and Josiah. I will give you what account I can of them at this distance from my papers, and if these are not lost in my absence, you will among them find many more particulars.

Thomas was bred a smith under his father, but being ingenious, and encouraged in learning (as all my brothers were) by an Esquire Palmer, then the principal gentleman in that parish, he qualified himself for the business of scrivener, became a considerable man in the county, was a chief mover of all public-spirited undertakings for the county or town of Northampton, and his own village, of which many instances were related of him, and much taken notice of and patronized by the then Lord Halifax. He died in 1702, January 6, old style, just four years to a day before I was born. The account we received of his life and character from some old people at Ecton, I remember, struck you as something extraordinary, from its similarity to what you knew of mine. "Had he died on the same day," you said, "one might have supposed a transmigration."

John was bred a dyer, I believe, of woollens. Benjamin was bred a silk-dyer, serving an apprenticeship at London. He was an ingenious man. I remember him well, for, when I was a boy, he came over to my father in Boston, and lived in the house with us some years. He lived to a great age. His grandson, Samuel Franklin, now lives in Boston. He left behind him two quarto volumes, MS., of his own poetry, consisting of little occasional pieces addressed to his friends and relations, of which the following, sent to me, is a specimen.* He had formed a short-hand of his own, which he taught me, but, never practising it, I have now forgot it. I was named after this uncle, there being a particular

* Here follows in the margin the words, in brackets, "here insert it," but the poetry is not given.

affection between him and my father. He was very pious, a great attender of sermons of the best preachers, which he took down in his short-hand, and had with him many volumes of them. He was also much of a politician; too much, perhaps, for his station. There fell lately into my hands in London a collection he had made of all the principal pamphlets relating to public affairs, from 1641 to 1717; many of the volumes are wanting, as appears by the numbering, but there still remain eight volumes in folio and twenty-four in quarto and in octavo. A dealer in old books met with them, and knowing me by my sometimes buying of him, he brought them to me. It seems my uncle must have left them here when he went to America, which was above fifty years since. There are many of his notes in the margins.

This obscure family of ours was early in the Reformation, and continued Protestants through the reign of Queen Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of trouble on account of their zeal against popery. They got an English Bible, and to conceal and secure it, it was fastened open with tapes under and within the cover of a joint-stool. When my great-great-grandfather read it to his family, he turned up the joint-stool upon his knees, turning over the leaves then under the tapes. One of the children stood at the door to give notice if he saw the apparitor coming, who was an officer of the spiritual court. In that case the stool was turned down again upon its feet, when the Bible remained concealed under it as before. This anecdote I had from my uncle Benjamin. The family continued all of the Church of England till about the end of Charles the Second's reign, when some of the ministers that had been outed for non-conformity, holding conventicles in Northamptonshire, Benjamin and Josiah adhered to them, and so continued all their lives: the rest of the family remained with the Episcopal Church.

Josiah, my father, married young, and carried his wife with three children into New England, about 1682. The conventicles having been forbidden by law, and frequently disturbed, induced some considerable men of his acquaintance to remove to that country, and he was prevailed with to accompany them thither, where they expected to enjoy their mode of religion with freedom. By the same wife he had four children more, born there, and by a second wife ten more, in all seventeen; of which I remember thirteen sitting at one time at his table, who all grew up to be men and women, and married; I was the youngest son, and the youngest child but two, and was born in Boston, New England. My

mother, the second wife, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first settlers of New England, of whom honorable mention is made by Cotton Mather, in his church history of that country entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana*, as "*a godly learned Englishman*," if I remember the words rightly. I have heard that he wrote sundry small occasional pieces, but only one of them was printed, which I saw now many years since. It was written in 1675, in the home-spun verse of that time and people, and addressed to those then concerned in the government there. It was in favor of liberty of conscience, and in behalf of the Baptists, Quakers, and other sectaries that had been under persecution, ascribing the Indian wars, and other distresses that had befallen the country, to that persecution, as so many judgments of God to punish so heinous an offense, and exhorting a repeal of those uncharitable laws. The whole appeared to me as written with a good deal of decent plainness and manly freedom. The six concluding lines I remember, though I have forgotten the two first of the stanza; but the purport of them was, that his censures proceeded from good-will, and therefore he would be known to be the author.

"Because to be a libeller (says he)
 I hate it with my heart;
 From Sherburne* town, where now I dwell
 My name I do put here;
 Without offense your real friend,
 It is Peter Folgier."

My elder brothers were all put apprentices to different trades. I was put to the grammar-school at eight years of age, my father intending to devote me, as the tithe of his sons, to the service of the Church. My early readiness in learning to read (which must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read), and the opinion of all his friends, that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose of his. My uncle Benjamin, too, approved of it, and proposed to give me all his short-hand volumes of sermons, I suppose as a stock to set up with, if I would learn his character. I continued, however, at the grammar-school not quite one year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of that year to be the head of it, and farther was removed into the next class above it, in order to go with that into the third at the end of the year. But my

* Sherburne is now known by the name of Nantucket.—Ed.

father, in the mean time, from a view of the expense of a college education, which having so large a family he could not well afford, and the mean living many so educated were afterwards able to obtain,—reasons that he gave to his friends in my hearing,—altered his first intention, took me from the grammar-school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a then famous man, Mr. George Brownell, very successful in his profession generally, and that by mild, encouraging methods. Under him I acquired fair writing pretty soon, but I failed in the arithmetic, and made no progress in it. At ten years old I was taken home to assist my father in his business, which was that of a tallow-chandler and sope-boiler; a business he was not bred to, but had assumed on his arrival in New England, and on finding his dying trade would not maintain his family, being in little request. Accordingly, I was employed in cutting wick for the candles, filling the dipping mold and the molds for cast candles, attending the shop, going of errands, etc.

I disliked the trade, and had a strong inclination for the sea, but my father declared against it; however, living near the water, I was much in and about it, learnt early to swim well, and to manage boats; and, when in a boat or canoe with other boys, I was commonly allowed to govern, especially in any case of difficulty, and upon other occasions I was generally a leader among the boys, and sometimes led them into scrapes, of which I will mention one instance, as it shows an early projecting public spirit, tho' not then justly conducted.

There was a salt-marsh that bounded part of the mill-pond, on the edge of which, at high water, we used to stand to fish for minnows. By much trampling, we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there fit for us to stand upon, and I showed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly, in the evening, when the workmen were gone, I assembled a number of my play-fellows, and working with them diligently like so many emmets, sometimes two or three to a stone, we brought them all away and built our little wharf. The next morning the workmen were surprised at missing the stones, which were found in our wharf. Inquiry was made after the removers; we were discovered and complained of; several of us were corrected by our fathers; and, though I pleaded the usefulness of the work, mine convinced me that nothing was useful which was not honest.

I think you may like to know something of his person and character. He had an excellent constitution of body, was of middle stature, but well set, and very strong; he was ingenious, could draw prettily, was skilled a little in music, and had a clear, pleasing voice, so that when he played psalm tunes on his violin and sung withal, as he sometimes did in an evening after the business of the day was over, it was extremely agreeable to hear. He had a mechanical genius too, and, on occasion, was very handy in the use of other tradesmen's tools; but his great excellence lay in a sound understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and publick affairs. In the latter, indeed, he was never employed, the numerous family he had to educate and the straitness of his circumstances keeping him close to his trade; but I remember well his being frequently visited by leading people, who consulted him for his opinion in affairs of the town or of the church he belonged to, and showed a good deal of respect for his judgment and advice: he was also much consulted by private persons about their affairs when any difficulty occurred, and frequently chosen an arbitrator between contending parties. At his table he liked to have, as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbor to converse with, and always took care to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his children. By this means he turned our attention to what was good, just, and prudent in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table, whether it was well or ill dressed, in or out of season, of good or bad flavor, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind, so that I was bro't up in such a perfect inattention to those matters as to be quite indifferent what kind of food was set before me, and so unobservant of it that to this day if I am asked I can scarcely tell a few hours after dinner what I dined upon. This has been a convenience to me in travelling, where my companions have been sometimes very unhappy for want of a suitable gratification of their more delicate, because better instructed, tastes and appetites.

My mother had likewise an excellent constitution: she suckled all her ten children. I never knew either my father or mother to have any sickness but that of which they dy'd, he at eighty-nine, and she at eighty-five years of age. They lie buried together at Boston, where I some years since placed a marble over their grave, with this inscription:

JOSIAH FRANKLIN,
 And
 ABIAH his wife,
 Lie here interred.
 They lived lovingly together in wedlock
 Fifty-five years.
 Without an estate, or any gainful employment,
 By constant labor and industry
 With God's blessing,
 They maintained a large family
 Comfortably,
 And brought up thirteen children
 And seven grandchildren
 Reputably.
 From this instance, reader,
 Be encouraged to diligence in thy calling,
 And distrust not Providence.
 He was a pious and prudent man;
 She, a discreet and virtuous woman.
 Their youngest son,
 In filial regard to their memory,
 Places this stone.
 J. F. born 1655, died 1744, Ætat 89.
 A. F. born 1667, died 1752, — 85.

By my rambling digressions I perceive myself to be grown old. I us'd to write more methodically. But one does not dress for private company as for a publick ball. 'T is perhaps only negligence.

To return: I continued thus employed in my father's business for two years, that is, till I was twelve years old; and my brother John, who was bred to that business, having left my father, married, and set up for himself at Rhode Island, there was all appearance that I was destined to supply his place, and become a tallow-chandler. But my dislike to the trade continuing, my father was under apprehensions that if he did not find one for me more agreeable, I should break away and get to sea, as his son Josiah had done, to his great vexation. He therefore sometimes took me to walk with him, and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, etc., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavor to fix it on some trade or other on land. It has ever since been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools; and it has been useful to me, having learnt so much by it as to be able to do little jobs myself in my house when a workman could not readily be got, and to construct little machines for my experiments, while the intention of making the experiment was fresh

and warm in my mind. My father at last fixed upon the cutler's trade, and my uncle Benjamin's son Samuel, who was bred to that business in London, being about that time established in Boston, I was sent to be with him some time on liking. But his expectations of a fee with me displeasing my father, I was taken home again.

From a child I was fond of reading, and all the little money that came into my hands was ever laid out in books. Pleased with the *Pilgrim's Progress*, my first collection was of John Bunyan's works in separate little volumes. I afterward sold them to enable me to buy R. Burton's *Historical Collections*; they were small chapmen's books, and cheap, forty or fifty in all. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read, and have since often regretted that, at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in my way, since it was now resolved I should not be a clergyman. Plutarch's *Lives* there was in which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of De Foe's, called an *Essay on Projects*, and another of Dr. Mather's, called *Essays to do Good*, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life.

This bookish inclination at length determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already one son (James) of that profession. In 1717 my brother James returned from England with a press and letters to set up his business in Boston. I liked it much better than that of my father, but still had a hankering for the sea. To prevent the apprehended effect of such an inclination, my father was impatient to have me bound to my brother. I stood out some time, but at last was persuaded, and signed the indentures when I was yet but twelve years old. I was to serve as an apprentice till I was twenty-one years of age, only I was to be allowed journeyman's wages during the last year. In a little time I made great proficiency in the business, and became a useful hand to my brother. I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon and clean. Often I sat up in my room reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening and to be returned early in the morning, lest it should be missed or wanted.

And after some time an ingenious tradesman, Mr. Matthew

Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, and who frequented our printing-house, took notice of me, invited me to his library, and very kindly lent me such books as I chose to read. I now took a fancy to poetry, and made some little pieces; my brother, thinking it might turn to account, encouraged me, and put me on composing occasional ballads. One was called *The Lighthouse Tragedy*, and contained an account of the drowning of Captain Worthilake, with his two daughters; the other was a sailor's song, on the taking of *Teach* (or Blackbeard) the pirate. They were wretched stuff in the Grub-street-ballad style; and when they were printed he sent me about the town to sell them. The first sold wonderfully; the event, being recent, having made a great noise. This flattered my vanity; but my father discouraged me by ridiculing my performances, and telling me verse-makers were generally beggars. So I escaped being a poet, most probably a very bad one; but as prose writing has been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was a principal means of my advancement, I shall tell you how, in such a situation, I acquired what little ability I have in that way.

There was another bookish lad in the town, John Collins by name, with whom I was intimately acquainted. We sometimes disputed, and very fond we were of argument, and very desirous of confuting one another, which disputatious turn, by the way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company by the contradiction that is necessary to bring it into practice; and thence, besides souring and spoiling the conversation, is productive of disgusts and, perhaps, enmities where you may have occasion for friendship. I had caught it by reading my father's books of dispute about religion. Persons of good sense, I have since observed, seldom fall into it, except lawyers, university men, and men of all sorts that have been bred at Edinborough.

A question was once, somehow or other, started between Collins and me, of the propriety of educating the female sex in learning, and their abilities for study. He was of opinion that it was improper, and that they were naturally unequal to it. I took the contrary side, perhaps a little for dispute's sake. He was naturally more eloquent, had a ready plenty of words, and sometimes, as I thought, bore me down more by his fluency than by the strength of his reasons. As we parted without settling the point, and were not to see one another again for some time, I sat down to put my arguments in writing, which I copied fair and sent to him. He

answered, and I replied. Three or four letters of a side had passed, when my father happened to find my papers and read them. Without entering into the discussion, he took occasion to talk to me about the manner of my writing; observed that, though I had the advantage of my antagonist in correct spelling and pointing (which I ow'd to the printing-house), I fell far short in elegance of expression, in method and in perspicuity, of which he convinced me by several instances. I saw the justice of his remarks, and thence grew more attentive to the manner in writing, and determined to endeavor at improvement.

About this time I met with an odd volume of the *Spectator*. It was the third. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished, if possible, to imitate it. With this view I took some of the papers, and, making short hints of the sentiment in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, try'd to compleat the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should come to hand. Then I compared my *Spectator* with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time if I had gone on making verses; since the continual occasion for words of the same import, but of different length, to suit the measure, or of different sound for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the tales and turned them into verse; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again. I also sometimes jumbled my collections of hints into confusion, and after some weeks endeavored to reduce them into the best order, before I began to form the full sentences and compleat the paper. This was to teach me method in the arrangement of thoughts. By comparing my work afterwards with the original, I discovered my faults and amended them; but I sometimes had the pleasure of fancying that, in certain particulars of small import, I had been lucky enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think I might possibly in time come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extremely ambitious. My time for these exercises and for reading was at night, after work or before it began in the morning, or on Sundays,

when I contrived to be in the printing-house alone, evading as much as I could the common attendance on public worship which my father used to exact of me when I was under his care, and which indeed I still thought a duty, though I could not, as it seemed to me, afford time to practise it.

When about 16 years of age I happened to meet with a book, written by one Tryon, recommending a vegetable diet. I determined to go into it. My brother, being yet unmarried, did not keep house, but boarded himself and his apprentices in another family. My refusing to eat flesh occasioned an inconveniency, and I was frequently chid for my singularity. I made myself acquainted with Tryon's manner of preparing some of his dishes, such as boiling potatoes or rice, making hasty pudding, and a few others, and then proposed to my brother, that if he would give me, weekly, half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it, and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me. This was an additional fund for buying books. But I had another advantage in it. My brother and the rest going from the printing-house to their meals, I remained there alone, and, despatching presently my light repast, which often was no more than a bisket or a slice of bread, a handful of raisins, or a tart from the pastry-cook's, and a glass of water, had the rest of the time, till their return, for study, in which I made the greater progress, from that greater clearness of head and quicker apprehension which usually attend temperance in eating and drinking.

And now it was that, being on some occasion made ashamed of my ignorance in figures, which I had twice failed in learning when at school, I took Cocker's book of *Arithmetick*, and went through the whole by myself with great ease. I also read Seller's and Shermy's books of *Navigation*, and became acquainted with the little geometry they contain; but never proceeded far in that science. And I read about this time Locke *On Human Understanding*, and the *Art of Thinking*, by Messrs. du Port Royal.

While I was intent on improving my language, I met with an English grammar (I think it was Greenwood's), at the end of which there were two little sketches of the arts of rhetoric and logic, the latter finishing with a specimen of a dispute in the Socratic method, and soon after I procur'd Xenophon's *Memorable Things of Socrates*, wherein there are many instances of the same method. I was charm'd with it, adopted it, dropt my abrupt contradiction and positive argumentation, and put on the humble inquirer and

doubter. And being then, from reading Shaftesbury and Collins, become a real doubter in many points of our religious doctrine, I found this method safest for myself, and very embarrassing to those against whom I used it; therefore I took a delight in it, practis'd it continually, and grew very artful and expert in drawing people, even of superior knowledge, into concessions, the consequences of which they did not foresee, entangling them in difficulties out of which they could not extricate themselves, and so obtaining victories that neither myself nor my cause always deserved. I continu'd this method some few years, but gradually left it, retaining only the habit of expressing myself in terms of modest diffidence, never using, when I advanced any thing that may possibly be disputed, the words *certainly*, *undoubtedly*, or any other that give the air of positiveness to an opinion, but rather say, I conceive or apprehend a thing to be so and so; it appears to me, or *I should think it so or so*, for such and such reasons; or *I imagine it to be so*; or *it is so, if I am not mistaken*. This habit, I believe, has been of great advantage to me when I have had occasion to inculcate my opinions, and persuade men into measures that I have been from time to time engag'd in promoting; and, as the chief ends of conversation are to *inform* or to be *informed*, to *please* or to *persuade*, I wish well-meaning, sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive, assuming manner, that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create opposition, and to defeat every one of those purposes for which speech was given to us,—to wit, giving or receiving information or pleasure. For, if you would inform, a positive and dogmatical manner in advancing your sentiments may provoke contradiction and prevent a candid attention. If you wish information and improvement from the knowledge of others, and yet at the same time express yourself as firmly fix'd in your present opinions, modest, sensible men, who do not love disputation, will probably leave you undisturbed in the possession of your error. And by such a manner, you can seldom hope to recommend yourself in *pleasing* your hearers, or to persuade those whose concurrence you desire. Pope says, judiciously:

*"Men should be taught as if you taught them not,
And things unknown propos'd as things forgot;"*

farther recommending to us

"To speak, tho' sure, with seeming diffidence."

And he might have coupled with this line that which he has coupled with another, I think, less properly:

“For want of modesty is want of sense.”

If you ask, Why less properly? I must repeat the lines:

“Immodest words admit of no defense
For want of modesty is want of sense.”

Now, is not *want of sense* (where a man is so unfortunate as to want it) some apology for his *want of modesty*? and would not the lines stand more justly thus?

“Immodest words admit *but* this defense,
That want of modesty is want of sense.”

This, however, I should submit to better judgments.

My brother had, in 1720 or 1721, begun to print a newspaper. It was the second that appeared in America, and was called the New England Courant. The only one before it was the Boston News-Letter.* I remember his being dissuaded by some of his friends from the undertaking, as not likely to succeed, one newspaper being, in their judgment, enough for America. At this time [1771] there are not less than five-and-twenty. He went on, however, with the undertaking, and after having worked in composing the types and printing off the sheets, I was employed to carry the papers thro' the streets to the customers.

He had some ingenious men among his friends, who amus'd themselves by writing little pieces for this paper, which gain'd it credit and made it more in demand, and these gentlemen often visited us. Hearing their conversations, and their accounts of the approbation their papers were received with, I was excited to try my hand among them; but, being still a boy, and suspecting that my brother would object to printing any thing of mine in his paper if he knew it to be mine, I contrived to disguise my hand, and, writing an anonymous paper, I put it in at night, under the door of the printing-house. It was found in the morning, and communicated to his writing friends when they call'd in as usual. They read it, commented on it in my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure of finding it met with their approbation, and that, in their different guesses at the author, none were named but

* The New England Courant was really the fourth newspaper that appeared in America; but Franklin's brother had been the printer of the second, the Boston Gazette.—Ed.

men of some character among us for learning and ingenuity. I suppose now that I was rather lucky in my judges, and that perhaps they were not really so very good ones as I then esteemed them.

Encourag'd, however, by this, I wrote and convey'd in the same way to the press several more papers, which were equally approv'd; and I kept my secret till my small fund of sense for such performances was pretty well exhausted, and then I discovered it, when I began to be considered a little more by my brother's acquaintance, and in a manner that did not quite please him, as he thought, probably with reason, that it tended to make me too vain. And, perhaps, this might be one occasion of the differences that we began to have about this time. Though a brother, he considered himself as my master, and me as his apprentice, and, accordingly, expected the same services from me as he would from another, while I thought he demean'd me too much in some he requir'd of me, who from a brother expected more indulgence. Our disputes were often brought before our father, and I fancy I was either generally in the right, or else a better pleader, because the judgment was generally in my favor. But my brother was passionate, and had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and, thinking my apprenticeship very tedious, I was continually wishing for some opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered in a manner unexpected.*

One of the pieces in our newspaper on some political point, which I have now forgotten, gave offense to the Assembly. He was taken up, censur'd, and imprison'd for a month, by the Speaker's warrant, I suppose, because he would not discover his author. I too was taken up and examin'd before the council; but, tho' I did not give them any satisfaction, they content'd themselves with admonishing me, and dismissed me, considering me, perhaps, as an apprentice, who was bound to keep his master's secrets.

During my brother's confinement, which I resented a good deal, notwithstanding our private differences, I had the management of the paper; and I made bold to give our rulers some rubs in it, which my brother took very kindly, while others began to consider me in an unfavorable light, as a young genius that had a turn for libelling and satyr. My brother's discharge was accompany'd with an order of the House (a very odd one), that "*James*

* I fancy his harsh and tyrannical treatment of me might be a means of impressing me with that aversion to arbitrary power that has stuck to me through my whole life.

Franklin should no longer print the paper called the New England Courant."

There was a consultation held in our printing-house among his friends, what he should do in this case. Some proposed to evade the order by changing the name of the paper; but my brother, seeing inconveniences in that, it was finally concluded on as a better way, to let it be printed for the future under the name of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN; and to avoid the censure of the Assembly, that might fall on him as still printing it by his apprentice, the contrivance was that my old indenture should be return'd to me, with a full discharge on the back of it, to be shown on occasion, but to secure to him the benefit of my service, I was to sign new indentures for the remainder of the term, which were to be kept private. A very flimsy scheme it was; however, it was immediately executed, and the paper went on accordingly, under my name for several months.

At length a fresh difference arising between my brother and me, I took upon me to assert my freedom, presuming that he would not venture to produce the new indentures. It was not fair in me to take this advantage, and this I therefore reckon one of the first errata of my life; but the unfairness of it weighed little with me, when under the impressions of resentment for the blows his passion too often urged him to bestow upon me, though he was otherwise not an ill-natur'd man: perhaps I was too saucy and provoking.

When he found I would leave him, he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing-house of the town by going round and speaking to every master, who accordingly refus'd to give me work. I then thought of going to New York, as the nearest place where there was a printer; and I was rather inclin'd to leave Boston when I reflected that I had already made myself a little obnoxious to the governing party, and, from the arbitrary proceedings of the Assembly in my brother's case, it was likely it might, if I stay'd, soon bring myself into scrapes; and farther, that my indiscrete disputations about religion began to make me pointed at with horror by good people as an infidel or atheist. I determin'd on the point, but my father now siding with my brother, I was sensible that, if I attempted to go openly, means would be used to prevent me. My friend Collins, therefore, undertook to manage a little for me. He agreed with the captain of a New York sloop for my passage, under the notion of my being a young acquaintance of his that . . . could not appear or come away publicly. So I sold some of my books to raise a little money,

was taken on board privately, and as we had a fair wind, in three days I found myself in New York, near 300 miles from home, a boy of but 17, without the least recommendation to or knowledge of, any person in the place, and with very little money in my pocket.

My inclinations for the sea were by this time worn out, or I might now have gratify'd them. But, having a trade, and supposing myself a pretty good workman, I offer'd my serviee to the printer in the place, old Mr. William Bradford, who had been the first printer in Pennsylvania, but removed from thence upon the quarrel of George Keith. He could give me no employment, having little to do, and help enough already; but says he: "My son at Philadelphia has lately lost his principal hand, Aquila Rose, by death; if you go thither, I believe he may employ you." Philadelphia was 100 miles farther; I set out, however, in a boat from Amboy, leaving my chest and things to follow me round by sea.

PROVISIONS RELATING TO BOSTON IN FRANKLIN'S WILL.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or by those person or persons, who shall have the superintendence and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest for ever, which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem meet.

[*In codicil.*] I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-schools established there. I have, therefore, already considered these schools in my will. But I am also under obligations to the State of Massachusetts for having, unasked, appointed me formerly their agent in England, with a handsome salary, which continued some years; and although I accidentally lost in their service, by transmitting Governor Hutchinson's letters, much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think that ought in the least to diminish my gratitude.

I have considered that, among artisans, good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens, and, having myself been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men, that may be serviceable to their country in both those towns. To this end, I devote two thousand pounds sterling, of

which I give one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust, to and for the uses, intents, and purposes hereinafter mentioned and declared.

The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the selectmen, united with the ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches in that town, who are to let out the sum upon interest, at five per cent. per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens, who are willing to become their sureties, in a bond with the applicants, for the repayment of the moneys so lent, with interest, according to the terms hereinafter prescribed; all which bonds are to be taken for Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in current gold coin; and the managers shall keep a bound book or books, wherein shall be entered the names of those who shall apply for and receive the benefits of this institution, and of their sureties, together with the sums lent, the dates, and other necessary and proper records respecting the business and concerns of this institution. And as these loans are intended to assist young married artificers in setting up their business, they are to be proportioned by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds; and if the number of appliers so entitled should be so large as that the sum will not suffice to afford to each as much as might otherwise not be improper, the proportion to each shall be diminished so as to afford to every one some assistance. These aids may, therefore, be small at first, but, as the capital increases by the accumulated interest, they will be more ample. And in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed more easy, each borrower shall be obliged to pay, with the yearly interest, one tenth part of the principal, which sums of principal and interest, so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers.

And, as it is presumed that there will always be found in Boston virtuous and benevolent citizens, willing to bestow a part of their time in doing good to the rising generation, by superintending and managing this institution gratis, it is hoped that no part of the money will at any time be dead, or be diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the interest; in which case there may, in time, be more than the occasions in Boston shall require, and then some may be spared to the neighboring or other towns in the said State of Massachusetts, who may desire to have it; such towns engaging to pay punctually the interest and the portions of the principal, annually, to the inhabitants of the town of Boston.

If this plan is executed, and succeeds as projected without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds; of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boston then lay out, at their discretion, one hundred thousand pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants, such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand

pounds I would have continued to be let out on interest, in the manner above directed, for another hundred years, as I hope it will have been found that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four millions and sixty-one thousand pounds sterling, of which I leave one million sixty-one thousand pounds to the disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and three millions to the disposition of the government of the State, not presuming to carry my views farther.

The first part of Franklin's *Autobiography*, of which the first pages, covering his early life in Boston, are given in the present leadet, is dated "Twyford, at the Bishop of St. Asaph's, 1771." The Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Jonathan Shipley, was an intimate friend of Franklin, who used to style him "the good Bishop." He was a friend of the American colonies, always opposing the harsh measures of the English crown towards them. Twyford was the bishop's country seat; and it was during a visit there that Franklin wrote the portion of his *Autobiography* covering the period from his birth, in 1706, to his marriage in 1730. This was done for the gratification of his own family. The work was afterwards continued at the solicitation of friends with the expectation that it would be given to the public. The second part was written at Passy, while Franklin was minister to France; the third part, bringing the narrative down to 1757, was begun in August, 1788, after his return to Philadelphia. There exists a draft scheme of the *Autobiography*, indicating the subjects intended for treatment, coming down to the time of the Revolution. The first part of the *Autobiography* was published, in a French translation, at Paris in 1791; a German edition in 1792; two English editions in 1793. Many subsequent editions appeared, giving larger portions; but the first complete edition was published in 1868, by John Bigelow, who secured the manuscript in Paris the year before from M. de Senarmont, the descendant of a member of the family of Franklin's friend, M. le Veillard, to whom Franklin had sent a copy. The history of this manuscript, lost to scholars for three-quarters of a century, is as remarkable as that of Bradford's *History of Plymouth*. The story is told by Bigelow in his introduction. The *Autobiography*, with a new introduction, is printed in the first volume of Bigelow's edition of Franklin's Writings; also in the first volume of Smyth's edition of Franklin's Writings, to which the student is referred for the best general account of those writings. Concerning the *Autobiography*, see Dr. Samuel A. Green's "Story of a Famous Book." For account of Franklin's early life, see the biography by Parton. The oration of Robert C. Winthrop at the inauguration of the statue of Franklin, in front of the Boston City Hall, in 1856, is especially commended. Mr. Winthrop pronounced Franklin—and after the half-century we should think of Emerson only as a rival—"that one of Boston's native sons whose name has shed the greatest lustre upon her history." "It is little to say that from the moment at which Boston first found a local habitation and a name on the hemisphere, down to the present hour, she has given birth to no man of equal ability, of equal celebrity, or of equal claim upon the grateful remembrance and commemoration of his fellow-countrymen or of mankind." The statue of Franklin, by Greenough, was the first outdoor bronze statue in Boston. It stands almost exactly on the site of the old Public Grammar School (Latin School) which Franklin attended. It owes its origin to the mechanics of Boston, especially to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. At its dedication an ode written by the printer-poet, James T. Fields, was sung by the children of the Boston schools, whose obligations to Franklin are so great. The Franklin medals provided for in the clause of the will above printed have rewarded thousands of Boston school-boys. One of the Boston public schools bears Franklin's name, and the city has a Franklin Street, a Franklin Park, and many societies which honor and perpetuate his name. She is presently to have a Franklin Institute, created from the fund provided in his will, doubled by the generous gift of Andrew Carnegie.

Franklin's love for his native city remained warm throughout his life. He revisited it in each decade after he left it, for half a century. In 1781 he wrote to Dr. Cooper: "I often form pleasing imaginations of the pleasure I should enjoy as a private person among my friends and compatriots in my native Boston. God only knows whether this pleasure is reserved for me"; and to his sister in 1787 he wrote: "It was my intention to decline serving another year as President [of Pennsylvania], that I might be at liberty to take a trip to Boston in the spring; but I submit to the unanimous voice of my country, which has again placed me in the chair." Most interesting, however, are his letters to Rev. Samuel Mather and Rev. John Lathrop of Boston.

To Rev. Samuel Mather he wrote from Passy, May 12, 1784: "When I was a boy, I met with a book entitled 'Essays to do Good,' which I think was written by your father

[Cotton Mather]. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor that several leaves of it were torn out, but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking as to have an influence on my conduct through life, for I have always set a greater value on the character of a *doer of good* than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book.

"You mention your being in your seventy-eighth year. I am in my seventy-ninth. We are grown old together. It is now more than sixty years since I left Boston, but I remember well both your father and grandfather, having heard them both in the pulpit, and seen them in their houses. The last time I saw your father was in the beginning of 1724, when I visited him after my first trip to Pennsylvania. He received me in his library, and on my taking leave showed me a shorter way out of the house through a narrow passage, which was crossed by a beam overhead. We were still talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he said hastily, 'Stoop, stoop!' I did not understand him till I felt my head hit against the beam. He was a man that never missed any occasion of giving instruction, and upon this he said to me, 'You are young, and have the world before you. *Stoop* as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps.' This advice, thus beat into my head, has frequently been of use to me, and I often think of it when I see pride mortified and misfortunes brought upon people by their carrying their heads too high.

"I long much to see again my native place, and to lay my bones there. I left it in 1723. I visited it in 1733, 1743, 1753, and 1763. In 1773 I was in England; in 1775 I had a sight of it, but could not enter, it being in possession of the enemy. I did hope to have been there in 1783, but could not obtain my dismissal from this employment here, and now I fear I shall never have that happiness."

To Rev. John Lathrop he wrote from Philadelphia, May 31, 1788, two years before his death: "It would certainly, as you observe, be a very great pleasure to me if I could once again visit my native town and walk over the grounds I used to frequent when a boy, and where I enjoyed many of the innocent pleasures of youth, which would be so brought to my remembrance, and where I might find some of my old acquaintance to converse with. But when I consider how well I am situated here, with everything about me that I can call either necessary or convenient, the fatigues and bad accommodations to be met with and suffered in a land journey, and the unpleasantness of sea voyages to one who, although he has crossed the Atlantic eight times and made many smaller trips, does not recollect his having ever been at sea without taking a firm resolution never to go to sea again; and that, if I were arrived in Boston, I should see but little of it, as I could neither bear walking nor riding in a carriage over its pebbled streets; and, above all, that I should find very few indeed of my old friends living, it being now sixty-five years since I left it to settle here;—all this considered, I say, it seems probable, though not certain, that I shall hardly again visit that beloved place. But I enjoy the company and conversation of its inhabitants when any of them are so good as to visit me; for, besides their general good sense, which I value, the Boston manner, turn of phrase, and even tone of voice and accent in pronunciation, all please and seem to refresh and revive me."

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On War and Peace.

By BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

To me it seems that neither the obtaining or retaining of any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce is the goodness and cheapness of commodities; and that the profit of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it, and of holding it, by fleets and armies.—*From a letter to Lord Howe, July 20, 1776.*

We have too much land to have the least temptation to extend our territory by conquest from peaceable neighbors, as well as too much justice to think of it. Our militia are sufficient to defend our lands from invasion. We therefore have not the occasion you imagine for fleets or standing armies, but may leave those expensive machines to be maintained for the pomp of princes and the wealth of ancient states. We propose, if possible, to live in peace with all mankind.—*To Charles de Weissenstein, July 1, 1778.*

Though I think a direct, immediate peace the best mode of present accommodation for Britain, as well as for America, yet, if that is not at this time practicable, and a truce is practicable, I should not be against a truce; but this is merely on motives of *general humanity*, to obviate the evils men devilishly inflict on men in time of war, and to lessen as much as possible the similarity of earth and hell.—*To David Hartley, May 4, 1779.*

I am as much for peace as ever I was, and as heartily desirous of seeing the war ended as I was to prevent its beginning, of which your ministers know I gave a strong proof before I left England, when, in order to an accommodation, I offered at my own risk, without orders for so doing, and without knowing whether I

should be owned in doing it, to pay the whole damage of destroying the tea at Boston, provided the acts made against that province were repealed. This offer was refused. I still think it would have been wise to have accepted it. If the Congress have therefore entrusted to others rather than to me the negotiations for peace, when such shall be set on foot, as has been reported, it is perhaps because they may have heard of a very singular opinion of mine, that there hardly ever existed such a thing as a bad peace or a good war, and that I might therefore easily be induced to make improper concessions.—*To David Hartley, Feb. 2, 1780.*

We make daily great improvements in *natural*—there is one I wish to see in *moral*—philosophy: the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats. When will human reason be sufficiently improved to see the advantage of this? When will men be convinced that even successful wars at length become misfortunes to those who unjustly commenced them, and who triumphed blindly in their success, not seeing all its consequences? Your great comfort and mine in this war is, that we honestly and faithfully did every thing in our power to prevent it.—*To Richard Price, Feb. 6, 1780.*

The rapid progress *true* science now makes, occasions my regretting sometimes that I was born so soon. It is impossible to imagine the height to which may be carried, in a thousand years, the power of man over matter. We may perhaps learn to deprive large masses of their gravity, and give them absolute levity, for the sake of easy transport. Agriculture may diminish its labor and double its produce; all diseases may by sure means be prevented or cured, not excepting even that of old age, and our lives lengthened at pleasure even beyond the antediluvian standard. O that moral science were in as fair a way of improvement, that men would cease to be wolves to one another, and that human beings would at length learn what they now improperly call humanity!—*To Joseph Priestley, Feb. 8, 1780.*

The great public event in Europe of this year is the proposal by Russia of an armed neutrality for protecting the liberty of commerce. The proposition is accepted now by most of the maritime powers. As it is likely to become the law of nations, *that free ships should make free goods*, I wish the Congress to consider whether it may not be proper to give orders to their cruisers not to molest foreign ships, but conform to the spirit of that treaty of neutrality.—*To the President of Congress, Aug. 9, 1780.*

There are three employments which I wish the law of nations would protect, so that they should never be molested or interrupted by enemies even in time of war: I mean farmers, fishermen, and merchants; because their employments are not only innocent, but for the common subsistence and benefit of the human species in general. As men grow more enlightened, we may hope that this will in time be the case.—*To Messrs. Wendorp and Heyhger, June 8, 1781.*

Since the foolish part of mankind will make wars from time to time with each other, not having sense enough otherwise to settle their differences, it certainly becomes the wiser part, who cannot prevent those wars, to alleviate as much as possible the calamities attending them.—*To Edmund Burke, Oct. 15, 1781.*

I wish most heartily with you that this cursed war was at an end.—*To Thomas Pownall, Nov. 23, 1781.*

I received your favor of September 26th, containing your very judicious proposition of securing the spectators in the opera and playhouses from the danger of fire. I communicated it where I thought it might be useful. You will see by the enclosed that the subject has been under consideration here. Your concern for the security of life, even the lives of your enemies, does honor to your heart and your humanity. But what are the lives of a few idle haunters of play-houses, compared with the many thousands of worthy men and honest, industrious families butchered and destroyed by this devilish war? O that we could find some happy invention to stop the spreading of the flames, and put an end to so horrid a conflagration!—*To David Hartley, Dec. 15, 1781.*

You may imagine I begin to grow happy in my prospects. I should be quite so, if I could see peace and good will restored between our countries; for I enjoy health, competence, friends, and reputation. Peace is the only ingredient wanting to my felicity.—*To Mrs. Mary Hewson, April 13, 1782.*

In what light we are viewed by superior beings, may be gathered from a piece of late West India news, which possibly has not yet reached you. A young angel of distinction being sent down to this world on some business, for the first time, had an old courier-spirit assigned him as a guide. They arrived over the seas of Martinico, in the middle of the long day of obstinate fight between the fleets of Rodney and De Grasse. When, through the clouds of smoke, he saw the fire of the guns, the decks covered with mangled limbs and bodies dead or dying; the ships sinking, burning, or blown into the air; and the quantity of pain, misery,

and destruction the crews yet alive were thus with so much eagerness dealing round to one another, he turned angrily to his guide and said: "You blundering blockhead, you are ignorant of your business; you undertook to conduct me to the earth, and you have brought me into hell!" "No, sir," says the guide, "I have made no mistake; this is really the earth, and these are men. Devils never treat one another in this cruel manner; they have more sense, and more of what men (vainly) call humanity."—*To Joseph Priestley, June 7, 1782.*

I long with you for the return of peace, on the general principles of humanity. After much occasion to consider the folly and mischiefs of a state of warfare, and the little or no advantage obtained even by those nations who have conducted it with the most success, I have been apt to think that there has never been, nor ever will be, any such thing as a *good* war or a *bad* peace.—*To Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, June 10, 1782.*

A letter written by you to M. Bertin, *Ministre d'Etat*, containing an account of the abominable murders committed by some of the frontier people on the poor Moravian Indians, has given me infinite pain and vexation. The dispensations of Providence in this world puzzle my weak reason. I cannot comprehend why cruel men should have been permitted thus to destroy their fellow-creatures. Some of the Indians may be supposed to have committed sins, but one cannot think the little children had committed any worthy of death. Why has a single man in England who happens to love blood and to hate Americans, been permitted to gratify that bad temper by hiring German murderers, and, joining them with his own, to destroy in a continued course of bloody years near one hundred thousand human creatures, many of them possessed of useful talents, virtues, and abilities, to which he has no pretension? It is he who has furnished the savages with hatchets and scalping-knives, and engages them to fall upon our defenceless farmers and murder them with their wives and children, paying for their scalps, of which the account kept in America already amounts, as I have heard, to near *two thousand!*

Perhaps the people of the frontiers, exasperated by the cruelties of the Indians, have been induced to kill all Indians that fall into their hands without distinction, so that even these horrid murders of our poor Moravians may be laid to his charge. And yet this man lives, enjoys all the good things this world can afford, and is surrounded by flatterers, who keep even his conscience

quiet by telling him he is the best of princes.—*To James Hutton, July 7, 1782.*

I enclose two papers that were read at different times by me to the commissioners. They may serve to show, if you should have occasion, what was urged on the part of America on certain points, or may help to refresh your memory. I send you also another paper, which I once read to you separately. It contains a proposition for improving the law of nations, by prohibiting the plundering of unarmed and usefully employed people. I rather wish than expect that it will be adopted. But I think it may be offered with a better grace by a country that is likely to suffer least and gain most by continuing the ancient practice, which is our case, as the American ships, laden only with the gross productions of the earth, cannot be so valuable as yours, filled with sugars or with manufactures. It has not yet been considered by my colleagues; but if you should think or find that it might be acceptable on your side, I would try to get it inserted in the general treaty. I think it will do honor to the nations that establish it.—*To Richard Oswald, Jan. 14, 1783.*

Propositions relative to Privateering Communicated to Mr. Oswald.

It is for the interest of humanity in general that the occasions of war and the inducements to it should be diminished.

If rapine is abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away, and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting.

The practice of robbing merchants on the high seas, a remnant of the ancient piracy, though it may be accidentally beneficial to particular persons, is far from being profitable to all engaged in it, or to the nation that authorizes it. In the beginning of a war some rich ships, not upon their guard, are surprised and taken. This encourages the first adventurers to fit out more armed vessels, and many others to do the same. But the enemy at the same time become more careful, arm their merchant ships better, and render them not so easy to be taken. They go also more under protection of convoys. Thus, while the privateers to take them are multiplied, the vessels subject to be taken and the chances of profit are diminished, so that many cruises are made wherein the expenses overgo the gains; and, as is the case in other lotteries, though particulars have got prizes, the mass of adventurers are losers, the whole expense of fitting out all the privateers during a war, being much greater than the whole

amount of goods taken. Then there is the national loss of all the labor of so many men during the time they have been employed in robbing, who, besides, spend what they get in riot, drunkenness, and debauchery, lose their habits of industry, are rarely fit for any sober business after a peace, and serve only to increase the number of highwaymen and housebreakers. Even the undertakers, who have been fortunate, are by sudden wealth led into expensive living, the habit of which continues when the means of supporting it ceases, and finally ruins them,—a just punishment for their having wantonly and unfeelingly ruined many honest, innocent traders and their families, whose subsistence was employed in serving the common interests of mankind.*

Should it be agreed and become a part of the law of nations that the cultivators of the earth are not to be molested or interrupted in their peaceable and useful employment, the inhabitants of the sugar islands would perhaps come under the protection of such a regulation, which would be a great advantage to the nations who at present hold those islands, since the cost of sugar to the consumer in those nations consists not merely in the price he pays for it by the pound, but in the accumulated charge of all the taxes he pays in every war, to fit out fleets and maintain troops for the defence of the islands that raise the sugar, and the ships that bring it home. But the expense of treasure is not all. A celebrated philosophical writer remarks that, when he considered the wars made in Africa, for prisoners to raise sugars in America, the numbers slain in those wars, the numbers that, being crowded in ships, perish in the transportation, and the numbers that die under the severities of slavery, he could scarce look on a morsel of sugar without conceiving it spotted with human blood. If he had considered also the blood of one another, which the white nations shed in fighting for those islands, he would have imagined his sugar not as spotted only, but as thoroughly dyed red. On these accounts I am persuaded that the subjects of the Emperor of Germany and the Empress of Russia, who have no sugar islands, consume sugar cheaper at Vienna and Moscow, with all the charge of transporting it after its arrival in Europe, than the citizens of London or of Paris. And I sincerely believe that if France and England were to decide, by throwing dice, which should have the whole of their sugar islands, the loser in the throw would be the gainer. The future expense

*This paragraph was repeated verbatim in Franklin's "Observations on War." See p. 18.

of defending them would be saved: the sugars would be bought cheaper by all Europe, if the inhabitants might make it without interruption, and, whoever imported the sugar, the same revenue might be raised by duties at the custom-houses of the nation that consumed it. And, on the whole, I conceive it would be better for the nations now possessing sugar colonies to give up their claim to them. Let them govern themselves, and put them under the protection of all the powers of Europe as neutral countries, open to the commerce of all, the profits of the present monopolies being by no means equivalent to the expense of maintaining them.

Article.

If war should hereafter arise between Great Britain and the United States, which God forbid, the merchants of either country then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance. And all fishermen, all cultivators of the earth, and all artisans or manufacturers unarmed, and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, who labor for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, and peaceably follow their respective employments, shall be allowed to continue the same, and shall not be molested by the armed force of the enemy in whose power by the events of the war they may happen to fall; but, if anything is necessary to be taken from them, for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. And all merchants or traders with their unarmed vessels, employed in commerce, exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of human life more easy to obtain and more general, shall be allowed to pass freely, unmolested. And neither of the powers, parties to this treaty, shall grant or issue any commission to any private armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy such trading ships, or interrupt such commerce.

At length we are in peace, God be praised, and long, very long, may it continue. All wars are follies, very expensive, and very mischievous ones. When will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their differences by arbitration? Were they to do it, even by the cast of a die, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other.—*To Mrs. Mary Hewson, Jan. 27, 1783.*

I send you enclosed the copies you desired of the papers I

read to you yesterday. I should be happy if I could see before I die the proposed improvement of the law of nations established. The miseries of mankind would be diminished by it, and the happiness of millions secured and promoted. If the practice of privateering could be profitable to any civilized nation, it might be so to us Americans; since we are so situated on the globe as that the rich commerce of Europe with the West Indies, consisting of manufactures, sugars, etc., is obliged to pass before our doors, which enables us to make short and cheap cruises, while our own commerce is in such bulky, low-priced articles as that ten of our ships taken by you are not equal in value to one of yours; and you must come far from home, at a great expense, to look for them. I hope, therefore, that this proposition, if made by us, will appear in its true light, as having humanity only for its motive. I do not wish to see a new Barbary rising in America, and our long, extended coast occupied by piratical states. I fear, lest our privateering success in the two last wars should already have given our people too strong a relish for that most mischievous kind of gaming,—mixed blood; and if a stop is not now put to the practice, mankind may hereafter be more plagued with American corsairs than they have been and are with the Turkish. Try, my friend, what you can do in procuring for your nation the glory of being, though the greatest naval power, the first who voluntarily relinquished the advantage that power seems to give them of plundering others, and thereby impeding the mutual communications among men of the gifts of God, and rendering miserable multitudes of merchants and their families, artisans, and cultivators of the earth, the most peaceable and innocent part of the human species.—*To David Hartley, May 8, 1783.*

I join with you most cordially in rejoicing at the return of peace. I hope it will be lasting, and that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats; for, in my opinion, *there never was a good war or a bad peace.* What vast additions to the conveniences and comforts of living might mankind have acquired, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility! What an extension of agriculture, even to the tops of our mountains; what rivers rendered navigable or joined by canals; what bridges, aqueducts, new roads, and other public works, edifices, and improvements, rendering England a complete paradise, might have been

obtained by spending those millions in doing good which in the last war have been spent in doing mischief; in bringing misery into thousands of families, and destroying the lives of so many thousands of working people, who might have performed the useful labor!—*To Sir Joseph Banks, July 27, 1783.*

There is no truth more clear to me than this, that the great interest of our two countries is a thorough reconciliation. Restraints on the freedom of commerce and intercourse between us can afford no advantage equivalent to the mischief they will do, by keeping up ill-humor and promoting a total alienation. Let you and me, my dear friend, do our best toward advancing and securing that reconciliation. We can do nothing that will in a dying hour afford us more solid satisfaction.—*To David Hartley, Sept. 6, 1783.*

I rejoice with you in the *peace* God has blessed us with, and in the prosperity it gives us a prospect of. The definitive treaty was signed the 3d instant. We are now friends with England and with all mankind. May we never see another war, for in my opinion *there never was a good war or a bad peace.*—*To Josiah Quincy, Sept. 11, 1783.*

I think with you, that your Quaker article is a good one, and that men will in time have sense enough to adopt it, but I fear that time is not yet come.

What would you think of a proposition, if I should make it, of a compact between England, France, and America? America would be as happy as the Sabine girls, if she could be the means of uniting in perpetual peace her father and her husband. What repeated follies are those repeated wars! You do not want to conquer and govern one another. Why then should you be continually employed in injuring and destroying one another? How many excellent things might have been done to promote the internal welfare of each country; what bridges, roads, canals, and other useful public works and institutions, tending to the common felicity, might have been made and established with the money and men foolishly spent during the last seven centuries by our mad wars in doing one another mischief! You are near neighbors, and each have very respectable qualities. Learn to be quiet and to respect each other's rights. You are all Christians. One is *The Most Christian King*, and the other *Defender of the Faith*. Manifest the propriety of these titles by your future conduct. "By this," says Christ, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love

one another." "Seek peace, and ensue it."—*To David Hartley, Oct. 16, 1783.*

In the course of this conversation, I mentioned the shameful neglect of treaties which so prevailed at present; the great injustice of several of our own wars, and the triviality of the avowed cause of others. I likewise mentioned Dr. Price's plan for a general peace in Europe. Dr. Franklin observed that nothing could be more disgraceful than the scandalous inattention to treaties, which appeared in almost every manifesto; he thought the world would grow wiser, and wars become less frequent. But he observed that the plans which he had seen for this purpose were in general impracticable in this respect, viz., that they supposed a general agreement among the sovereigns of Europe to send delegates to a particular place. Now, though perhaps two or three of them might be willing to come into this measure, it is improbable and next to impossible that all, or even a majority of them, would do it. "But," said he, "if they would have patience, I think they might accomplish it, agree upon an alliance against all aggressors, and agree to refer all disputes between each other to some third person, or set of men or power. Other nations, seeing the advantage of this, would gradually accede; and perhaps in one hundred and fifty or two hundred years, all Europe would be included. I will, however," continued he, "mention one plan to you, which came to me in rather an extraordinary manner, and which seems to me to contain some very sensible remarks. In the course of last year, a man very shabbily dressed—all his dress together was not worth five shillings—came and desired to see me. He was admitted, and, on asking his business, he told me that he had walked from one of the remotest provinces in France, for the purpose of seeing me and showing me a plan which he had formed for a universal and perpetual peace. I took his plan and read it, and found it to contain much good sense. I desired him to print it. He said he had no money; so I printed it for him. He took as many copies as he wished for, and gave several away; but no notice whatever was taken of it." He then went into a closet and brought a copy of this plan, which he gave me. . . .

In speaking of the Irish volunteers, I took the liberty of mentioning what seemed to me an omission in the Constitution of America, the want of any sufficient armed force. He said they had a militia who met and exercised five or six days in a year. I objected the smallness of the time, and their serving by substitutes,

and in support of personal service mentioned Andrew Fletcher's opinion.

He seemed to think the objections of no great weight. "For," said he, "America is not, like any European power, surrounded by others, every one of which keeps an immense standing army; therefore she is not liable to attacks from her neighbors,—at least, if attacked she is on an equal footing with the aggressor, and if attacked by any distant power she will always have time to form an army. Could she possibly be in a worse situation than at the beginning of this war, and could we have had better success?"

Insensibly we began to converse on standing armies, and he seeming to express an opinion that this system might some time or other be abolished, I took the liberty to ask him in what manner he thought it could be abolished; that at present a compact among the powers of Europe seemed the only way, for one or two powers singly and without the rest would never do it; and that even a compact did not seem likely to take place, because a standing army seemed necessary to support an absolute government, of which there were many in Europe. "That is very true," said he; "I admit that if one power singly were to reduce their standing army, it would be instantly overrun by other nations; but yet I think that there is one effect of a standing army which must in time be felt in such a manner as to bring about the total abolition of the system." On my asking what the effect was to which he alluded, he said he thought they diminished not only the population, but even the breed and the size of the human species. "For," said he, "the army in this and every other country is in fact the flower of the nation—all the most vigorous, stout, and well-made men in a kingdom are to be found in the army. These men in general never marry." *From John Baynes's Conversations with Franklin, reported in his Journal, September and October, 1783.**

It is astonishing that the murderous practice of duelling, which you so justly condemn, should continue so long in vogue. Formerly, when duels were used to determine lawsuits, from an opinion that Providence would in every instance favor truth and right with victory, they were excusable. At present they decide nothing. A man says something which another tells him is a lie. They fight; but, whichever is killed, the point at dispute remains unsettled. To this purpose they have a pleasant little story

* Baynes was an intimate friend of Sir Samuel Romilly, and with Romilly visited Franklin at Passy.

here. A gentleman in a coffee-house desired another to sit farther from him. "Why so?" "Because, sir, you stink." "That is an affront, and you must fight me." "I will fight you, if you insist upon it; but I do not see how that will mend the matter. For if you kill me, I shall stink too; and if I kill you, you will stink, if possible, worse than you do at present." How can such miserable sinners as we are entertain so much pride as to conceit that every offence against our imagined honor merits *death*? These petty princes in their own opinion would call that sovereign a tyrant who should put one of them to death for a little uncivil language, though pointed at his sacred person; yet every one of them makes himself judge in his own cause, condemns the offender without a jury, and undertakes himself to be the executioner.—*To Thomas Percival, July 17, 1784.*

It is some comfort to reflect that upon the whole the quantity of industry and prudence among mankind exceeds the quantity of idleness and folly. Hence the increase of good buildings, farms cultivated, and populous cities filled with wealth, all over Europe; which a few ages since were only to be found on the coast of the Mediterranean; and this, notwithstanding the mad wars continually raging, by which are often destroyed in one year the works of many years' peace.—*To Benjamin Vaughan, July 26, 1784.*

It is said by those who know Europe generally, that there are more thefts committed and punished annually in England than in all the other nations put together. If this be so, there must be a cause or causes for such depravity in your common people. May not one be the deficiency of justice and morality in your national government, manifested in your oppressive conduct to your subjects and unjust wars on your neighbors? View the long-persisted in, unjust monopolizing treatment of Ireland at length acknowledged. View the plundering government exercised by your merchants in the Indies; the confiscating war made upon the American colonies; and, to say nothing of those upon France and Spain, view the late war upon Holland, which was seen by impartial Europe in no other light than that of a war of rapine and pillage, the hopes of an immense and easy prey being its only apparent, and probably its true and real, motive and encouragement.

Justice is as strictly due between neighbor nations as between neighbor citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang as when single; and a nation that makes an unjust war is only a *great gang*. After employing your people

in robbing the Dutch, is it strange that, being put out of that employ by the peace, they should continue robbing, and rob one another? *Piraterie*, as the French call it, or privateering, is the universal bent of the English nation, at home or abroad, wherever settled. No less than seven hundred privateers were, it is said, commissioned in the last war. These were fitted out by merchants, to prey upon other merchants, who had never done them any injury. Is there probably any one of those privateering merchants of London, who were so ready to rob the merchants of Amsterdam, that would not as readily plunder another London merchant of the next street, if he could do it with the same impunity? The avidity, the *alieni appetens*, is the same; it is the fear alone of the gallows that makes the difference. How then can a nation which, among the honestest of its people, has so many thieves by inclination, and whose government encouraged and commissioned no less than seven hundred gangs of robbers,—how can such a nation have the face to condemn the crime in individuals, and hang up twenty of them in a morning? It naturally puts one in mind of a Newgate anecdote. One of the prisoners complained that in the night somebody had taken his buckles out of his shoes. “What, the devil!” says another, “have we then *thieves* among us? It must not be suffered; let us search out the rogue, and pump him to death.” . . .

It has been for some time a generally received opinion, that a military man is not to inquire whether a war be just or unjust; he is to execute his orders. All princes who are disposed to become tyrants must probably approve of this opinion, and be willing to establish it; but is it not a dangerous one, since, on that principle, if the tyrant commands his army to attack and destroy, not only an unoffending neighbor nation, but even his own subjects, the army is bound to obey? A negro slave, in our colonies, being commanded by his master to rob or murder a neighbor, or do any other immoral act, may refuse, and the magistrate will protect him in his refusal. The slavery then of a soldier is worse than that of a negro. A conscientious officer, if not restrained by the apprehension of its being imputed to another cause, may indeed resign rather than be employed in an unjust war; but the private men are slaves for life, and they are perhaps incapable of judging for themselves. We can only lament their fate, and still more that of a sailor, who is often dragged by force from his honest occupation, and compelled to imbrue his hands in, perhaps, innocent blood.

But methinks it well behooves merchants (men more enlightened by their education, and perfectly free from any such force or obligation) to consider well of the justice of a war before they voluntarily engage a gang of ruffians to attack their fellow-merchants of a neighboring nation, to plunder them of their property, and perhaps ruin them and their families if they yield it, or to wound, maim, and murder them if they endeavor to defend it.

Yet these things are done by Christian merchants, whether a war be just or unjust, and it can hardly be just on both sides. They are done by English and American merchants, who, nevertheless, complain of private theft, and hang by dozens the thieves they have taught by their own example.

It is high time, for the sake of humanity, that a stop were put to this enormity. The United States of America, though better situated than any European nation to make profit by privateering (most of the trade of Europe, with the West Indies, passing before their doors), are, as far as in them lies, endeavoring to abolish the practice, by offering in all their treaties with other powers an article, engaging solemnly that in case of future war no privateer shall be commissioned on either side, and that unarmed merchant-ships on both sides shall pursue their voyages unmolested.* This will be a happy improvement of the law of

* This offer having been accepted by the king of Prussia, Frederick the Great, a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between that monarch and the United States containing the following article, in the formation of which Dr. Franklin, as one of the American plenipotentiaries, was principally concerned, it being his last official act in Europe.

ARTICLE XXIII.

"If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance; and all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general all others whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons, nor shall their houses and goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted by the armed force of the enemy in whose power by the events of war they may happen to fall; but if anything is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. And all merchants and trading vessels employed in exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of human life more easy to be obtained, and more general, shall be allowed to pass free and unmolested; and neither of the contracting powers shall grant or issue any commission to any private armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy such trading vessels, or interrupt such commerce."

Washington, July 31, 1786, wrote to Count de Rochambeau concerning this treaty as follows: "The treaty of amity, which has lately taken place between the King of Prussia and the United States, marks a new era in negotiation. It is the most liberal treaty which has ever been entered into between independent powers. It is perfectly original in many of the articles; and, should its principles be considered hereafter as the basis of connection between nations, it will operate more fully to produce a general pacification, than any measure hitherto attempted amongst mankind."

nations. The humane and the just cannot but wish general success to the proposition.—*To B. Vaughan, March 14, 1785.*

I did my last public act in this country just before I set out, which was signing a treaty of amity and commerce with Prussia.—*To Mrs. Mary Hewson, July 13, 1785.*

I read with pleasure the account you gave of the flourishing state of your commerce and manufactures, and of the plenty you have of resources to carry the nation through all its difficulties. You have one of the finest countries in the world, and if you can be cured of the folly of making war for trade (in which wars more has been always expended than the profits of any trade can compensate), you may make it one of the happiest. Make the best of your own natural advantages, instead of endeavoring to diminish those of other nations, and there is no doubt but that you may yet prosper and flourish. Your beginning to consider France no longer as a natural enemy is a mark of progress in the good sense of the nation, of which posterity will find the benefit, in the rarity of wars, the diminution of taxes, and increase of riches.—*To Alexander Small, Feb. 19, 1787.*

I agree with you perfectly in your disapprobation of war. Abstracted from the inhumanity of it, I think it wrong in point of human prudence; for, whatever advantage one nation would obtain from another, whether it be part of their territory, the liberty of commerce with them, free passage on their rivers, etc., it would be much cheaper to purchase such advantage with ready money than to pay the expense of acquiring it by war. An army is a devouring monster, and, when you have raised it, you have, in order to subsist it, not only the fair charges of pay, clothing, provisions, arms, and ammunition, with numberless other contingent and just charges, to answer and satisfy, but you have all the additional knavish charges of the numerous tribe of contractors to defray, with those of every other dealer who furnishes the articles wanted for your army, and takes advantage of that want to demand exorbitant prices. It seems to me that, if statesmen had a little more arithmetic or were more accustomed to calculation, wars would be much less frequent. I am confident that Canada might have been purchased from France for a tenth part of the money England spent in the conquest of it. And if, instead of fighting with us for the power of taxing us, she had kept us in good humor by allowing us to dispose of our own money, and now and then giving us a little of hers, by way of donation to colleges, or hospitals, or for cutting canals, or

fortifying ports, she might have easily drawn from us much more by our occasional voluntary grants and contributions than ever she could by taxes. Sensible people will give a bucket or two of water to a dry pump, that they may afterward get from it all they have occasion for. Her ministry were deficient in that little point of common sense. And so they spent one hundred millions of her money, and after all lost what they contended for.—*To Mrs. Jane Mecom, Sept. 20, 1787.*

I hope the disorders in Brabant and Holland may be rectified without bloodshed. But I fear the impending war with the Turks, if not prevented by prudent negotiation, may in its consequences involve great part of Europe. I confide, however, that France and England will preserve their present peace with each other, notwithstanding some contrary appearances; for I think that they have both of them *too much sense* to go to war without an important cause, as well as *too little money* at present.

As to the projected conquest of Turkey, I apprehend that, if the Emperor and Empress would make some use of arithmetic, and calculate what annual revenues may be expected from the country they want, should they acquire it, and then offer the Grand Seignior a hundred times that annual revenue, to be paid down for an amicable purchase of it, it would be his interest to accept the offer, as well as theirs to make it, rather than a war for it should take place; since a war, to acquire that territory and to retain it, will cost both parties much more, perhaps ten times more, than such sum of purchase money. But the hope of glory and the ambition of princes are not subject to arithmetical calculation.—*To —, Dec. 15, 1787.*

During the course of a long life, in which I have made observations on public affairs, it has appeared to me that almost every war between the Indians and whites has been occasioned by some injustice of the latter towards the former. It is indeed extremely imprudent in us to quarrel with them for their lands, as they are generally willing to sell, and sell such good bargains; and a war with them is so mischievous to us in unsettling frequently a great part of our frontier, and reducing the inhabitants to poverty and distress, and is besides so expensive, that it is much cheaper, as well as honester, to buy their lands than to take them by force.—*To the Governor of Georgia, Dec. 16, 1787.*

I lament with you the prospect of a horrid war, which is likely to engage so great a part of mankind. There is little good gained, and so much mischief done generally, by wars, that I wish the

imprudence of undertaking them was more evident to princes; in which case I think they would be less frequent. If I were counsellor of the Empress of Russia, and found that she desired to possess some part of the dominions of the Grand Seignior, I should advise her to compute the annual taxes raised from that territory, and make him an offer of buying it, at the rate of paying for it at twenty years' purchase. And if I were his counsellor, I should advise him to take the money and cede the dominion of that territory. For I am of opinion that a war to obtain it would cost her more than that sum, and the event uncertain, and that the defence of it will cost him as much, and not having embraced the offer, his loss is double. But to make and accept such an offer, these potentates should be both of them reasonable creatures, and free from the ambition of glory, which perhaps is too much to be supposed.

I am glad that peace is likely to be established in your native country with so little expense of blood, though it be done in a manner not agreeable to a great part of the nation. If the French had entered with the Prussians, and made it the seat of war, the mischief would have been infinite.—*To John Ingenhousz, Feb. 11, 1788.*

I grieve at the wars Europe is engaged in, and wish they were ended; for I fear even the victors will be losers.—*To John Ingenhousz, Oct. 24, 1788.*

I regret the immense quantity of misery brought upon mankind by this Turkish war; and I am afraid the King of Sweden may burn his fingers by attacking Russia. When will princes learn arithmetic enough to calculate, if they want pieces of one another's territory, how much cheaper it would be to buy them than to make war for them, even though they were to give a hundred years' purchase? But, if glory cannot be valued, and therefore the wars for it cannot be subject to arithmetical calculation so as to show their advantage or disadvantage, at least wars for trade, which have gain for their object, may be proper subjects for such computation; and a trading nation, as well as a single trader, ought to calculate the probabilities of profit and loss before engaging in any considerable adventure. This, however, nations seldom do, and we have had frequent instances of their spending more money in wars for acquiring or securing branches of commerce than a hundred years' profit or the full enjoyment of them can compensate.—*To Benjamin Vaughan, Oct. 24, 1788.*

OBSERVATIONS ON WAR.

By the original law of nations, war and extirpation were the punishment of injury. Humanizing by degrees, it admitted slavery instead of death; a farther step was the exchange of prisoners, instead of slavery; another, to respect more the property of private persons under conquest, and be content with acquired dominion. Why should not this law of nations go on improving? Ages have intervened between its several steps; but as knowledge of late increases rapidly, why should not those steps be quickened? Why should it not be agreed to, as the future law of nations, that in any war hereafter the following description of men should be undisturbed, have the protection of both sides, and be permitted to follow their employments in security? viz.:

1. Cultivators of the earth, because they labor for the subsistence of mankind.

2. Fishermen, for the same reason.

3. Merchants and traders in unarmed ships, who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessities and conveniences of life.

4. Artists and mechanics, inhabiting and working in open towns.

It is hardly necessary to add that the hospitals of enemies should be unmolested; they ought to be assisted. It is for the interest of humanity in general that the occasions of war, and the inducements to it, should be diminished. If rapine be abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away; and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting.

The practice of robbing merchants on the high seas [*what here follows in this paper is the same as the paragraph beginning with these words in the Propositions printed on p. 5*].

The accounts you give me of the great prospects you have respecting your manufactures, agriculture, and commerce, are pleasing to me; for I still love England and wish it prosperity. You tell me that the government of France is abundantly punished for its treachery to England in assisting us. You might also have remarked that the government of England had been punished for its treachery to France in assisting the Corsicans, and in seizing her ships in time of full peace, without any previous declaration of war. I believe governments are pretty near equal in honesty, and cannot with much propriety praise their own in

preference to that of their neighbors.—*To Alexander Small, Nov. 5, 1789.*

God grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man, may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface, and say, This is my country.—*To David Hartley, Dec. 4, 1789.*

The great and representative men among the founders of the American republic were conspicuous in their time for their condemnation of the war system of nations and their advocacy of legal and rational means of adjusting international differences. Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Samuel Adams all spoke strong words upon this subject. In the period between the close of the Revolution and the adoption of the Constitution, Samuel Adams prepared a letter from the legislature of Massachusetts to the delegates in Congress, —whether it became a legislative act we do not know,—instructing them to urge Congress to such action with the nations of Europe as we were united with by treaties, “that national differences may be settled and determined without the necessity of war, in which the world has too long been deluged, to the destruction of human happiness and the disgrace of human reason and government.” The views and action of Jefferson in this matter were especially advanced. Says Henry Adams in his history of Jefferson’s administration: “Jefferson aspired beyond the ambition of a nationality, and embraced in his view the whole future of man. That the United States should become a nation like France, England, or Russia, or should conquer the world like Rome, was no part of his scheme. He wished to begin a new era. Hoping for a time when the world’s ruling interests should cease to be local and should become universal, when questions of boundary and nationality should become insignificant, when armies and navies should be reduced to the work of police, he set himself to the task of governing with this golden age in view.” The utterances of Washington upon the subject are memorable. Many of his words, with those of his great associates, are brought together in Edwin D. Mead’s “Principles of the Founders.”

Franklin was more truly a citizen of the world than any other American statesman of his time. Nearly a third of his life was passed in England and France, in the service of America. His international experience and observation were immense. The period was one of great and devastating wars; and he knew well the sufferings of the colonies in the preceding period, in the wars in which the rivalries of France and England constantly involved them. The mischief and ruin wrought by war in every aspect, personal, political, social, commercial, and economic, were ever before his eyes; and he came to an utter detestation of war and an absolute condemnation of the war system. As Sparks says, “He was an enemy to war in all its forms and disguises.” No other great American of his time expressed himself so forcibly or so constantly upon the subject in his letters. It was in this field, he felt, that men most conspicuously failed to exercise not only their human sentiment, but their common sense. “All Europe might be a great deal happier with a little more understanding.” He finally came to the conclusion stated in his famous utterance, repeated in his letters to Josiah Quincy and others, that “there never was a good war or a bad peace.” This declaration, in a somewhat less extreme form, is made as early as Feb. 2, 1780, in his letter of that date to David Hartley, printed on page 2 of the present leaflet, where it is referred to as an opinion commonly expressed before and well known. There are few of the current arguments against war and in behalf of fraternal international relations which are not found, at least in rudimentary form, in Franklin’s letters here given; and in the last letter, that to David Hartley the year before his death, he gives striking expression to the feeling which Jefferson, Paine, Garrison, and Lowell have put into varied famous phrases, that we are citizens of the world and brothers of all men.

In view of the pronounced peace principles of Franklin’s later life, an early bit of verse addressed to him by his Uncle Benjamin, of London, is of interest. The lines were written when the boy, zealous in martial sports, was less than five years old.

“Believe me, Ben, it is a dangerous trade;
The sword has many marred, as well as made;
By it do many fall, not many rise;
Makes many poor, few rich, and fewer wise;
Fills towns with ruin, fields with blood; beside
’Tis sloth’s maintainer and the shield of pride.
Fair cities, rich to-day in plenty’s flow,
War fills with want to-morrow, and with woe.
Ruined estates, the nurse of vice, broke limbs and scars,
Are the effects of desolating wars.”

The passages given in the present leaflet are arranged chronologically, and it will be noted that they cover the period from July, 1776, the very month of the Declaration of Independence, to December, 1789, four months before Franklin's death. They represent, therefore, his ripest experience and maturest judgment. As illustrative material, there might properly be included the list of British cruelties in America during the Revolution, prepared by Franklin (Works, Bigelow's edition, x. 73), and other papers relating specifically to the Revolution; but these involve controversies which it is not profitable often to revive.

With reference to Franklin's noteworthy proposal to make private property on sea as secure in war as property on land, embodied in his propositions to Mr. Oswald in 1783 (above, p. 5), and actually adopted in the treaty between the United States and Prussia in 1785, the signing of which was Franklin's last official act in Europe, the following word of Lord Shelburne is hardly less interesting than the word of Washington (above, p. 14). Speaking of the treaty between England and France concluded shortly afterwards, he "regretted that Pitt in his French treaty had not gone further, and followed the example of the treaty which had been recently negotiated by Franklin between the United States and Prussia, under the terms of which even the merchant vessels of belligerents were exempt from capture" (Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, by Lord Fitzmaurice, iii. 439).

There are several Franklin leaflets in the Old South series. No. 9 contains his famous plan for the Union of the Colonies, adopted by the convention at Albany in 1754; No. 161, the portion of his autobiography relating to his boyhood in Boston, together with the provisions for Boston in his will; No. 163, his early (1754) Plan for Western Colonies, with his circular of information for those thinking of removing to America, written during his stay in Paris after the Revolution. There are also several Old South leaflets giving important historic papers relating to various aspects of the movement for the peace and better order of the world, with which Franklin's letters in the present leaflet are concerned, viz.: No. 75, William Penn's "Plan for the Peace of Europe"; No. 101, the introduction to Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace"; No. 114, The Hague Arbitration Convention; No. 123, Dante on a Universal Empire; No. 146, Elihu Burritt's addresses on a Congress of Nations.

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Plan for Western Colonies.

BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

PLAN FOR SETTLING TWO WESTERN COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA, WITH REASONS FOR THE PLAN [1754 OR '55].

THE great country back of the Appalachian Mountains, on both sides of the Ohio, and between that river and the Lakes, is now well known, both to the English and French, to be one of the finest in North America, for the extreme richness and fertility of the land, the healthy temperature of the air, and mildness of the climate; the plenty of hunting, fishing, and fowling; the facility of trade with the Indians, and the vast convenience of inland navigation or water-carriage by the Lakes and great rivers many hundreds of leagues around.

From these natural advantages it must undoubtedly (perhaps in less than another century) become a populous and powerful dominion; and a great accession of power either to England or France.

The French are now making open encroachments on those territories, in defiance of our known rights; and, if we longer delay to settle that country, and suffer them to possess it, these *inconveniences and mischiefs* will probably follow:

1. Our people, being confined to the country between the sea and the mountains, cannot much more increase in number, people increasing in proportion to their room and means of subsistence.

2. The French will increase much more, by that acquired room and plenty of subsistence, and become a great people behind us.

3. Many of our debtors and loose English people, our German servants, and slaves, will probably desert to them, and increase their numbers and strength, to the lessening and weakening of ours.

4. They will cut us off from all commerce and alliance with the western Indians, to the great prejudice of Britain, by preventing the sale and consumption of its manufactures.

They will both in time of peace and war (as they have always done against New England) set the Indians on to harass our frontiers, kill and scalp our people, and drive in the advanced settlers; and so, in preventing our obtaining more subsistence by cultivating of new lands, they discourage our marriages, and keep our people from increasing, thus (if the expression may be allowed) killing thousands of our children before they are born.

If two strong colonies of English were settled between the Ohio and Lake Erie, in the places hereafter to be mentioned, these advantages might be expected:

1. They would be a great security to the frontiers of our other colonies, by preventing the incursions of the French and French Indians of Canada, on the back parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas; and the frontiers of such new colonies would be much more easily defended than those of the colonies last mentioned now can be, as will appear hereafter.

2. The dreaded junction of the French settlements in Canada with those of Louisiana would be prevented.

3. In case of a war, it would be easy, from those new colonies, to annoy Louisiana, by going down the Ohio and Mississippi; and the southern part of Canada, by sailing over the Lakes, and thereby confine the French within narrow limits.

4. We could secure the friendship and trade of the Miamis or Twigtwees (a numerous people consisting of many tribes, inhabiting the country between the west end of Lake Erie, and the south end of Lake Huron, and the Ohio), who are at present dissatisfied with the French and fond of the English, and would gladly encourage and protect an infant English settlement in or near their country, as some of their chiefs have declared to the writer of this memoir. Further, by means of the Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, our trade might be extended through a vast country, among many numerous and distant nations, greatly to the benefit of Britain.

5. The settlement of all the intermediate lands, between the present frontiers of our colonies on one side, and the Lakes and Mississippi on the other, would be facilitated and speedily executed, to the great increase of Englishmen, English trade, and English power.

The grants to most of the colonies are of long, narrow slips of land, extending west from the Atlantic to the South Sea. They are much too long for their breadth, the extremes at too great a distance, and therefore unfit to be continued under their present dimensions.

Several of the old colonies may conveniently be limited westward by the Allegany or Appalachian mountains, and new colonies formed west of those mountains.

A single old colony does not seem strong enough to extend itself otherwise than inch by inch. It cannot venture a settlement far distant from the main body, being unable to support it; but if the colonies were united under one governor-general and grand council, agreeably to the Albany plan, they might easily, by their joint force, establish one or more new colonies, whenever they should judge it necessary or advantageous to the interest of the whole.

But, if such union should not take place, it is proposed that two charters be granted, *each* for some considerable part of the lands west of Pennsylvania and the Virginia mountains, to a number of the nobility and gentry of Britain; with such Americans as shall join them in contributing to the settlement of those lands, either by paying a proportion of the expense of making such settlements or by actually going thither in person, and settling themselves and families.

That by such charters it be granted that every actual settler be entitled to a tract of ——— acres for himself, and ——— acres for every poll in the family he carries with him; and that every contributor of ——— guineas be entitled to a quantity of acres, equal to the share of a single settler, for every such sum of guineas contributed and paid to the colony treasurer; a contributor for ——— shares to have an additional share *gratis*; that settlers may likewise be contributors, and have right of land in both capacities.

That as many and as great privileges and powers of government be granted to the contributors and settlers as his Majesty in his wisdom shall think most fit for their benefit and encouragement, consistent with the general good of the British empire,

for extraordinary privileges and liberties, with lands on easy terms, are strong inducements to people to hazard their persons and fortunes in settling new countries. And such powers of government as (though suitable to their circumstances, and fit to be trusted with an infant colony) might be judged unfit when it becomes populous and powerful, these might be granted for a term only; as the choice of their own governor for ninety-nine years; the support of government in the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island (which *now* enjoy that and other like privileges) being much less expensive than in the colonies under the immediate government of the crown, and the constitution more inviting.

That the first contributors to the amount of ——— guineas be empowered to choose a treasurer to receive the contribution.

That no contributions be paid till the sum of ——— thousand guineas be subscribed.

That the money thus raised be applied to the purchase of the lands from the Six Nations and other Indians, and of provisions, stores, arms, ammunition, carriages, &c., for the settlers, who, after having entered their names with the treasurer, or person by him appointed to receive and enter them, are, upon public notice given for that purpose, to rendezvous at a place to be appointed, and march in a body to the place destined for their settlement, under the charge of the government to be established over them. Such rendezvous and march, however, not to be directed till the number of names of settlers entered, capable of bearing arms, amount at least to ——— thousand.

It is apprehended that a great sum of money might be raised in America on such a scheme as this; for there are many who would be glad of any opportunity, by advancing a small sum at present, to secure land for their children, which might in a few years become very valuable; and a great number, it is thought, of actual settlers might likewise be engaged (some from each of our present colonies), sufficient to carry it into full execution by their strength and numbers; provided only that the crown would be at the expense of removing the little forts the French have erected in their encroachments on his Majesty's territories, and supporting a strong one near the Falls of Niagara, with a few small armed vessels or half-galleys to cruise on the Lakes.

For the security of this colony in its infancy, a small fort might be erected and for some time maintained at Buffalo Creek on the Ohio, above the settlement; and another at the mouth of the

Tioga, on the south side of Lake Erie, where a port should be formed and a town erected for the trade of the Lakes. The colonists for *this settlement* might march by land through Pennsylvania.

The river Scioto, which runs into the Ohio about two hundred miles below Logstown, is supposed the fittest seat for the *other colony*; there being for forty miles on each side of it, and quite up to its heads, a body of all rich land; the finest spot of its bigness in all North America, and has the particular advantage of sea-coal in plenty (even above ground in two places) for fuel when the woods shall be destroyed. This colony would have the trade of the Miamis or Twigtwees; and should, at first, have a small fort near Hochockin, at the head of the river, and another near the mouth of Wabash. Sandusky, a French fort near the Lake Erie, should also be taken; and all the little French forts south and west of the Lakes, quite to the Mississippi, be removed, or taken and garrisoned by the English. The colonists for this settlement might assemble near the heads of the rivers in Virginia, and march over land to the navigable branches of the Kenhawa, where they might embark with all their baggage and provisions, and fall into the Ohio, not far above the mouth of the Scioto. Or they might rendezvous at Will's Creek, and go down the Monongahela to the Ohio.

The fort and armed vessels at the strait of Niagara would be a vast security to the frontiers of these new colonies against any attempts of the French from Canada. The fort at the mouth of the Wabash would guard that river, the Ohio, and the Cutava River, in case of any attempt from the French of the Mississippi. Every fort should have a small settlement round it, as the fort would protect the settlers, and the settlers defend the fort and supply it with provisions.

The difficulty of settling the first English colonies in America, at so great a distance from England, must have been vastly greater than the settling these proposed new colonies; for it would be the interest and advantage of all the present colonies to support these new ones; as they would cover their frontiers, and prevent the growth of the French power behind or near their present settlements; and the new country is nearly at equal distance from all the old colonies, and could easily be assisted from all of them.

And as there are already in all the old colonies many thousands of families that are ready to swarm, wanting more land, the richness and natural advantage of the Ohio country would draw most

of them thither, were there but a tolerable prospect of a safe settlement. So that the new colonies would soon be full of people, and, from the advantage of their situation, become much more terrible to the French settlements than those are now to us. The gaining of the back Indian trade from the French, by the navigation of the Lakes, &c., would of itself greatly weaken our enemies, it being now their principal support. It seems highly probable, that in time they must be subjected to the British crown, or driven out of the country.

Such settlements may better be made now than fifty years hence, because it is easier to settle ourselves, and thereby prevent the French settling there, as they seem now to intend, than to remove them when strongly settled.

If these settlements are postponed, then more forts and stronger, and more numerous and expensive garrisons, must be established to secure the country, prevent their settling, and secure our present frontiers; the charge of which may probably exceed the charge of the proposed settlements, and the advantage nothing near so great.

The fort at Oswego should likewise be strengthened, and some armed half-galleys, or other small vessels, kept there to cruise on Lake Ontario, as proposed by Mr. Pownall in his paper laid before the commissioners at the Albany treaty.

If a fort was also built at Tirondequat on Lake Ontario, and a settlement made there near the lake side, where the lands are said to be good, much better than at Oswego, the people of such settlements would help to defend both forts on any emergency.

FRANKLIN TO GEORGE WHITEFIELD, JULY 2, 1756.

You mention your frequent wish that you were a chaplain to the American army. I sometimes wish that you and I were jointly employed by the crown to settle a colony on the Ohio. I imagine that we could do it effectually, and without putting the nation to much expense; but I fear we shall never be called upon for such a service. What a glorious thing it would be to settle in that fine country a large, strong body of religious and industrious people! What a security to the other colonies and advantage to Britain, by increasing her people, territory, strength, and commerce! Might it not greatly facilitate the introduction of pure religion among the heathen, if we could, by such a colony, show them a better sample of Christians than

they commonly see in our Indian traders?—the most vicious and abandoned wretches of our nation! Life, like a dramatic piece, should not only be conducted with regularity, but, methinks, it should finish handsomely. Being now in the last act, I begin to cast about for something fit to end with. Or, if mine be more properly compared to an epigram, as some of its lines are but barely tolerable, I am very desirous of concluding with a bright point. In such an enterprise, I could spend the remainder of life with pleasure; and I firmly believe God would bless us with success, if we undertook it with a sincere regard to His honour, the service of our gracious king, and (which is the same thing) the public good.

ADVANTAGES OF THE OHIO COUNTRY. FROM FRANKLIN'S ANSWER TO THE REPORT OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS FOR TRADE AND PLANTATIONS ON THE PETITION OF THOMAS WALPOLE AND HIS ASSOCIATES FOR A GRANT OF LANDS ON THE OHIO. LONDON, 1772.

No part of his Majesty's dominions in North America will require less encouragement "for the growth and culture of naval stores and raw materials, and for supplying the islands with lumber, provisions," etc., than the solicited colony on the Ohio; and for the following reasons:

First. The lands in question are excellent, the climate temperate; the native grapes, silk-worms, and mulberry trees are everywhere; hemp grows spontaneously in the valleys and low lands; iron ore is plenty in the hills; and no soil is better adapted for the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

Secondly. The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; and by which, and a short land carriage of only forty miles, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now, be sent cheaper to the seaport town of Alexandria, on the river Potomac (where General Braddock's transports landed his troops), than any kind of merchandise is at this time sent from Northampton to London.

Thirdly. The river Ohio is, at all seasons of the year, navigable for large boats, like the west country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and, from January to the month of April, large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, to this kingdom.

Fourthly. Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other neces-

saries can be sent down the stream of Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia.

Fifthly. Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles can also be sent down the stream of the Ohio to the sea, at least fifty per centum cheaper than these articles were ever carried by a land carriage, of only sixty miles, in Pennsylvania; where wagonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

Sixthly. The expense of transporting British manufactures from the sea to the Ohio colony will not be so much as is now paid, and must ever be paid, to a great part of the counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland.

From this state of facts we apprehend it is clear that the lands in question are altogether capable, and will advantageously admit, from their fertility, situation, and the small expense attending the exporting the produce of them to this kingdom, of conducing to "the great object of colonizing upon the continent of North America"; but, that we may more particularly elucidate this important point, we shall take the freedom of observing that it is not disputed, but even acknowledged by the very report now under consideration, that the climate and the soil of the Ohio are as favorable as we have described them; and, as to the native silk-worms, it is a truth that above ten thousand weight of cocoons was, in August, 1771, sold at the public filature in Philadelphia; and that the silk produced from the native worm is of a good quality, and has been much approved of in this city.

As to hemp, we are ready to make it appear that it grows as we have represented, spontaneously, and of a good texture, on the Ohio. When, therefore, the increasing dependence of this kingdom upon Russia for this very article is considered, and that none has been exported from the sea-coast American colonies, as their soil will not easily produce it, this dependence must surely be admitted as a subject of great national consequence, and worthy of the serious attention of government. Nature has pointed out to us, where any quantity of hemp can be soon and easily raised; and by that means, not only a large amount of specie may be retained yearly in this kingdom, but our own subjects can be employed most advantageously, and paid in the manufactures of this kingdom.

INFORMATION TO THOSE WHO WOULD REMOVE TO AMERICA.

[1782.]

Many persons in Europe having by letters expressed to the writer of this, who is well acquainted with North America, their desire of transporting and establishing themselves in that country, but who appear to have formed, through ignorance, mistaken ideas and expectations of what is to be obtained there, he thinks it may be useful, and prevent inconvenient, expensive, and fruitless removals and voyages of improper persons, if he gives some clearer and truer notions of that part of the world than appear to have hitherto prevailed.

He finds it is imagined by numbers that the inhabitants of North America are rich, capable of rewarding, and disposed to reward, all sorts of ingenuity; that they are at the same time ignorant of all the sciences, and, consequently, that strangers possessing talents in the belles-lettres, fine arts, etc., must be highly esteemed, and so well paid as to become easily rich themselves; that there are also abundance of profitable offices to be disposed of, which the natives are not qualified to fill; and that, having few persons of family among them, strangers of birth must be greatly respected, and of course easily obtain the best of those offices, which will make all their fortunes; that the governments too, to encourage emigration from Europe, not only pay the expense of personal transportation, but give lands gratis to strangers, with negroes to work for them, utensils of husbandry, and stocks of cattle. These are all wild imaginations; and those who go to America with expectations founded upon them will surely find themselves disappointed.

The truth is, that though there are in that country few people so miserable as the poor of Europe, there are also very few that in Europe would be called rich; it is rather a general happy mediocrity that prevails. There are few great proprietors of the soil, and few tenants; most people cultivate their own lands, or follow some handicraft or merchandise; very few rich enough to live idly upon their rents or incomes, or to pay the highest prices given in Europe for painting, statues, architecture, and the other works of art that are more curious than useful. Hence the natural geniuses that have arisen in America with such talents have uniformly quitted that country for Europe, where they can be more suitably rewarded. It is true that letters and mathematical knowledge are in esteem there, but they are at the same time more common than is apprehended; there being already existing nine colleges or universities,

viz., four in New England, and one in each of the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, all furnished with learned professors; besides a number of smaller academies. These educate many of their youth in the languages, and those sciences that qualify men for the professions of divinity, law, or physic. Strangers indeed are by no means excluded from exercising those professions; and the quick increase of inhabitants everywhere gives them a chance of employ, which they have in common with the natives. Of civil offices, or employments, there are few; no superfluous ones, as in Europe; and it is a rule established in some of the States, that no office should be so profitable as to make it desirable. The thirty-sixth article of the Constitution of Pennsylvania runs expressly in these words: "As every freeman, to preserve his independence (if he has not a sufficient estate), ought to have some profession, calling, trade, or farm, whereby he may honestly subsist, there can be no necessity for, nor use in, establishing offices of profit, the usual effects of which are dependence and servility unbecoming freemen, in the possessors and expectants; faction, contention, corruption, and disorder among the people. Wherefore, whenever an office, through increase of fees or otherwise, becomes so profitable as to occasion many to apply for it, the profits ought to be lessened by the Legislature."

These ideas prevailing more or less in all the United States, it cannot be worth any man's while, who has a means of living at home, to expatriate himself, in hopes of obtaining a profitable civil office in America; and, as to military offices, they are at an end with the war, the armies being disbanded. Much less is it advisable for a person to go thither who has no other quality to recommend him but his birth. In Europe it has indeed its value; but it is a commodity that cannot be carried to a worse market than that of America, where people do not inquire concerning a stranger, *What is he?* but, *What can he do?* If he has any useful art, he is welcome; and if he exercises it, and behaves well, he will be respected by all that know him; but a mere man of quality, who, on that account, wants to live upon the public, by some office or salary, will be despised and disregarded. The husbandman is in honor there, and even the mechanic, because their employments are useful. The people have a saying, that God Almighty is himself a mechanic, the greatest in the universe; and he is respected and admired more for the variety, ingenuity, and utility of his handiworks, than for the antiquity of his family. They are pleased with the observation of a negro, and frequently mention it,

that *Boccarora* (meaning the white man) *make de black man workee, make de horse workee, make de ox workee, make ebery ting workee; only de hog. He, de hog, no workee; he eat, he drink, he walk about, he go to sleep when he please, he live like a gempleman.* According to these opinions of the Americans, one of them would think himself more obliged to a genealogist, who could prove for him that his ancestors and relations for ten generations had been ploughmen, smiths, carpenters, turners, weavers, tanners, or even shoemakers, and consequently that they were useful members of society, than if he could only prove that they were gentlemen, doing nothing of value, but living idly on the labor of others, mere *fruges consumere nati*,* and otherwise *good for nothing*, till by their death their estates, like the carcass of the negro's gentleman-hog, come to be *cut up*.

With regard to encouragements for strangers from government, they are really only what are derived from good laws and liberty. Strangers are welcome, because there is room enough for them all, and therefore the old inhabitants are not jealous of them; the laws protect them sufficiently, so that they have no need of the patronage of great men; and every one will enjoy securely the profits of his industry. But, if he does not bring a fortune with him, he must work and be industrious to live. One or two years' residence gives him all the rights of a citizen; but the government does not, at present, whatever it may have done in former times, hire people to become settlers, by paying their passages, giving land, negroes, utensils, stock, or any other kind of emolument whatsoever. In short, America is the land of labor, and by no means what the English call *Lubberland*, and the French *Pays de Cocagne*, where the streets are said to be paved with half-peck loaves, the houses tiled with pancakes, and where the fowls fly about ready roasted, crying, *Come eat me!*

Who then are the kind of persons to whom an emigration to America may be advantageous? And what are the advantages they may reasonably expect?

Land being cheap in that country, from the vast forests still void of inhabitants, and not likely to be occupied in an age to come, insomuch that the propriety of a hundred acres of fertile soil full of wood may be obtained near the frontiers, in many places, for eight or ten guineas, hearty young laboring men, who understand the husbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the same in

*“ . . . born
Merely to eat up the corn.”—WATTS.

that country as in Europe, may easily establish themselves there. A little money saved of the good wages they receive there, while they work for others, enables them to buy the land and begin their plantation, in which they are assisted by the good-will of their neighbors, and some credit. Multitudes of poor people from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, have, by this means, in a few years become wealthy farmers, who, in their own countries, where all the lands are fully occupied, and the wages of labor low, could never have emerged from the poor condition wherein they were born.

From the salubrity of the air, the healthiness of the climate, the plenty of good provisions, and the encouragement to early marriages by the certainty of subsistence in cultivating the earth, the increase of inhabitants by natural generation is very rapid in America, and becomes still more so by the accession of strangers; hence there is a continual demand for more artisans of all the necessary and useful kinds, to supply those cultivators of the earth with houses, and with furniture and utensils of the grosser sorts, which cannot so well be brought from Europe. Tolerably good workmen in any of those mechanic arts are sure to find employ, and to be well paid for their work, there being no restraints preventing strangers from exercising any art they understand, nor any permission necessary. If they are poor, they begin first as servants or journeymen; and if they are sober, industrious, and frugal, they soon become masters, establish themselves in business, marry, raise families, and become respectable citizens.

Also, persons of moderate fortunes and capitals, who, having a number of children to provide for, are desirous of bringing them up to industry, and to secure estates for their posterity, have opportunities of doing it in America, which Europe does not afford. There they may be taught and practise profitable mechanic arts, without incurring disgrace on that account, but, on the contrary, acquiring respect by such abilities. There small capitals laid out in lands, which daily become more valuable by the increase of people, afford a solid prospect of ample fortunes thereafter for those children. The writer of this has known several instances of large tracts of land, bought, on what was then the frontier of Pennsylvania, for ten pounds per hundred acres, which, when the settlements had been extended far beyond them, sold readily, without any improvement made upon them, for three pounds per acre. The acre in America is the same with the English acre, or the acre of Normandy.

Those who desire to understand the state of government in America, would do well to read the Constitutions of the several States, and the Articles of Confederation that bind the whole together for general purposes, under the direction of one assembly, called the Congress. These Constitutions have been printed, by order of Congress, in America; two editions of them have also been printed in London; and a good translation of them into French has lately been published at Paris.

Several of the princes of Europe, of late, from an opinion of advantage to arise by producing all commodities and manufactures within their own dominions, so as to diminish or render useless their importations, have endeavored to entice workmen from other countries by high salaries, privileges, etc. Many persons, pretending to be skilled in various great manufactures, imagining that America must be in want of them, and that the Congress would probably be disposed to imitate the princes above mentioned, have proposed to go over, on condition of having their passages paid, lands given, salaries appointed, exclusive privileges for terms of years, etc. Such persons, on reading the Articles of Confederation, will find that the Congress have no power committed to them, nor money put into their hands, for such purposes; and that, if any such encouragement is given, it must be by the government of some separate State. This, however, has rarely been done in America; and, when it has been done, it has rarely succeeded, so as to establish a manufacture, which the country was not yet so ripe for as to encourage private persons to set it up; labor being generally too dear there, and hands difficult to be kept together, every one desiring to be a master, and the cheapness of lands inclining many to leave trades for agriculture. Some, indeed, have met with success, and are carried on to advantage; but they are generally such as require only a few hands, or wherein great part of the work is performed by machines. Goods that are bulky, and of so small value as not well to bear the expense of freight, may often be made cheaper in the country than they can be imported; and the manufacture of such goods will be profitable wherever there is a sufficient demand. The farmers in America produce, indeed, a good deal of wool and flax; and none is exported, it is all worked up; but it is in the way of domestic manufacture, for the use of the family. The buying up quantities of wool and flax, with the design to employ spinners, weavers, etc., and form great establishments, producing quantities of linen and woollen goods for sale, has been several times attempted in differ-

ent provinces; but those projects have generally failed, goods of equal value being imported cheaper. And when the governments have been solicited to support such schemes by encouragements in money, or by imposing duties on importation of such goods, it has been generally refused, on this principle, that, if the country is ripe for the manufacture, it may be carried on by private persons to advantage; and if not, it is a folly to think of forcing nature. Great establishments of manufacture require great numbers of poor to do the work for small wages; those poor are to be found in Europe, but will not be found in America till the lands are all taken up and cultivated, and the excess of people, who cannot get land, want employment. The manufacture of silk, they say, is natural in France, as that of cloth in England, because each country produces in plenty the first material; but if England will have a manufacture of silk as well as that of cloth, and France of cloth as well as that of silk, these unnatural operations must be supported by mutual prohibitions, or high duties on the importation of each other's goods; by which means the workmen are enabled to tax the home consumer by greater prices, while the higher wages they receive makes them neither happier nor richer, since they only drink more and work less. Therefore, the governments in America do nothing to encourage such projects. The people, by this means, are not imposed on, either by the merchant or the mechanic. If the merchant demands too much profit on imported shoes, they buy of the shoemaker; and if he asks too high a price, they take them of the merchant; thus the two professions are checks on each other. The shoemaker, however, has, on the whole, a considerable profit upon his labor in America, beyond what he had in Europe, as he can add to his price a sum nearly equal to all the expenses of freight and commission, risk or insurance, etc., necessarily charged by the merchant. And the case is the same with the workmen in every other mechanic art. Hence it is that artisans generally live better and more easily in America than in Europe; and such as are good economists make a comfortable provision for age, and for their children. Such may, therefore, remove with advantage to America.

In the long-settled countries of Europe, all arts, trades, professions, farms, etc., are so full, that it is difficult for a poor man, who has children, to place them where they may gain, or learn to gain, a decent livelihood. The artisans, who fear creating future rivals in business, refuse to take apprentices, but upon conditions of money, maintenance, or the like, which the parents are unable

to comply with. Hence the youth are dragged up in ignorance of every gainful art, and obliged to become soldiers, or servants, or thieves, for a subsistence. In America, the rapid increase of inhabitants takes away that fear of rivalship, and artisans willingly receive apprentices from the hope of profit by their labor, during the remainder of the time stipulated, after they shall be instructed. Hence it is easy for poor families to get their children instructed; for the artisans are so desirous of apprentices, that many of them will even give money to the parents, to have boys from ten to fifteen years of age bound apprentices to them till the age of twenty-one; and many poor parents have, by that means, on their arrival in the country, raised money enough to buy land sufficient to establish themselves, and to subsist the rest of their family by agriculture. These contracts for apprentices are made before a magistrate, who regulates the agreement according to reason and justice, and, having in view the formation of a future and useful citizen, obliges the master to engage by a written indenture, not only that, during the time of service stipulated, the apprentice shall be duly provided with meat, drink, apparel, washing, and lodging, and, at its expiration, with a complete new suit of clothes, but also that he shall be taught to read, write, and cast accounts; and that he shall be well instructed in the art or profession of his master, or some other, by which he may afterwards gain a livelihood, and be able in his turn to raise a family. A copy of this indenture is given to the apprentice or his friends, and the magistrate keeps a record of it, to which recourse may be had, in case of failure by the master in any point of performance. This desire among the masters, to have more hands employed in working for them, induces them to pay the passages of young persons, of both sexes, who, on their arrival, agree to serve them one, two, three, or four years; those who have already learned a trade agreeing for a shorter term, in proportion to their skill and the consequent immediate value of their service; and those who have none agreeing for a longer term, in consideration of being taught an art their poverty would not permit them to acquire in their own country.

The almost general mediocrity of fortune that prevails in America obliging its people to follow some business for subsistence, those vices that arise usually from idleness are in a great measure prevented. Industry and constant employment are great preservatives of the morals and virtue of a nation. Hence bad examples to youth are more rare in America, which must be a comfortable consideration to parents. To this may be truly added,

that serious religion, under its various denominations, is not only tolerated, but respected and practised. Atheism is unknown there; infidelity rare and secret; so that persons may live to a great age in that country, without having their piety shocked by meeting with either an atheist or an infidel. And the Divine Being seems to have manifested his approbation of the mutual forbearance and kindness with which the different sects treat each other, by the remarkable prosperity with which He has been pleased to favor the whole country.

The Ohio Company, formed in Virginia in 1749 for the colonization of the Ohio country, was the first organized scheme for the settlement of the West under English auspices. George Washington's brothers, Lawrence and Augustine, were members of this Ohio Company, Lawrence Washington becoming its chief manager. Its efforts miscarried; but George Washington's interest in the West continued strong from this time to the end of his life. See account of this interest and of his services in opening the West in the notes to Old South Leaflet No. 16, containing Washington's letter to Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia in 1784. See similar account of Jefferson's services in this field in notes to Leaflet No. 127, containing the Ordinance of 1784. To the general subject of the opening of the West several leaflets in the Old South series are devoted. The perception of the importance of the West in the development of English America was in the period shortly preceding and following the Revolution a test of political insight and sagacity. Franklin's plan for settling colonies in the Ohio country, which stands first among the papers in the present leaflet, is noteworthy for the knowledge and the significant arguments with which it is urged. It was probably written shortly after the Albany Convention in 1754, at the request of Governor Pownall, who presented it to the Duke of Cumberland in 1756, along with a similar scheme of his own. Franklin's deep personal interest in the Ohio country appears from the noteworthy passage in his letter to Whitefield in 1756, printed above. In 1769 Franklin, then in England, with Thomas Walpole and others, petitioned the king for a grant, upon proper payment, of a large tract on the Ohio, which they proposed to develop; and this was the beginning of the long and vexatious history of what is known as the Walpole Grant. The section on the advantages of the Ohio country, printed above, is from Franklin's long and convincing reply in 1772 to the objections drawn up by Lord Hillsborough. The whole may be found in Bigelow's edition of Franklin's works, v. 20; see further illustrative matter, iv. 136 and x. 346,—the latter a petition to Congress in 1779 for a confirmation of the British grant. During Franklin's stay in Paris many inquiries were addressed to him concerning the inducements for emigration to the United States; and, to answer such inquiries, he wrote in 1782 the circular of general information printed above. It is an interesting fact that when after the Revolution the first two New England colonies went into the Ohio country—Rufus Putnam's company to the mouth of the Muskingum, and Moses Cleveland's company to the south shore of Lake Erie—they chose substantially the very points which Franklin had designated as the best for settlement a generation before. Instead of the mouth of the Muskingum, Franklin had recommended the mouth of the Scioto, a little farther down the Ohio. The very name of Marietta—after Marie Antoinette—was an expression of American gratitude for the French sympathy and help which Franklin had done most to secure. It is interesting to remember in the general connection that for a brief time, beginning 1784–85, an independent Western State, in the present Tennessee, bore the name of Franklin. See Franklin's letter concerning it to William Cocke, Aug. 12, 1786.—Bigelow's edition of Franklin, ix. 333.

PUBLISHED BY

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



The Body of Liberties.

THE LIBERTIES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COL-
LONIE IN NEW ENGLAND, 1641.

The free fruition of such liberties Immunities and priveledges as humanitie, Civilitie, and Christianitie call for as due to every man in his place and proportion without impeachment and Infringement hath ever bene and ever will be the tranquillitie and Stabilitie of Churches and Commonwealths. And the deniall or deprivall thereof, the disturbance if not the ruine of both.

We hould it therefore our dutie and safetie whilst we are about the further establishing of this Government to collect and expresse all such freedoms as for present we foresee may concerne us, and our posteritie after us, And to ratify them with our soll-emne consent.

Wee doe therefore this day religiously and unanimously decree and confirme these following Rites, liberties and priveledges concerneing our Churches, and Civill State to be respectively impartiallie and inviolably enjoyed and observed throughout our Jurisdiction for ever.

1. No mans life shall be taken away, no mans honour or good name shall be stayned, no mans person shall be arested, re-strayned, banished, dismembred, nor any wayes punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no mans goods or estaite shall be taken away from him, nor any way indammaged under colour of law or Countenance of Authoritie, unlesse it be by vertue or equitie of some expresse law of the Country waranting the same, established by a generall Court and sufficiently published, or in case of the defect of a law in any particuler case by the word of God. And in Capitall cases, or in cases concerning

dismembring or banishment according to that word to be judged by the Generall Court.

2. Every person within this Jurisdiction, whether Inhabitant or forreiner shall enjoy the same justice and law, that is generall for the plantation, which we constitute and execute one towards another without partialitie or delay.

3. No man shall be urged to take any oath or subscribe any articles, covenants or remonstrance, of a publique and Civill nature, but such as the Generall Court hath considered, allowed and required.

4. No man shall be punished for not appearing at or before any Civill Assembly, Court, Councell, Magistrate, or Officer, nor for the omission of any office or service, if he shall be necessarily hindred by any apparent Act or providence of God, which he could neither foresee nor avoid. Provided that this law shall not prejudice any person of his just cost or damage, in any civill action.

5. No man shall be compelled to any publique worke or service unlesse the presse be grounded upon some act of the generall Court, and have reasonable allowance therefore.

6. No man shall be pressed in person to any office, worke, warres or other publique service, that is necessarily and suffitiently exempted by any naturall or personall impediment, as by want of yeares, greatnes of age, defect of minde, fayling of sences, or impotencie of Lymbes.

7. No man shall be compelled to goe out of the limits of this plantation upon any offensive warres which this Comonwealth or any of our freinds or confederats shall voluntarily undertake. But onely upon such vindictive and defensive warres in our owne behalfe or the behalfe of our freinds and confederats as shall be enterprized by the Counsell and consent of a Court generall, or by authority derived from the same.

8. No mans Cattel or goods of what kinde soever shall be pressed or taken for any publique use or service, unlesse it be by warrant grounded upon some act of the generall Court, nor without such reasonable prices and hire as the ordinarie rates of the Countrie do afford. And if his Cattle or goods shall perish or suffer damage in such service, the owner shall be suffitiently recompenced.

9. No monopolies shall be granted or allowed amongst us, but of such new Inventions that are profitable to the Countrie, and that for a short time,

10. All our lands and heritages shall be free from all fines and licenses upon Alienations, and from all hariotts, wardships, Liveries, Primer-seisins, yeare day and wast, Escheates, and forfeitures, upon the deaths of parents or Ancestors, be they naturall, casuall or Juditiall.

11. All persons which are of the age of 21 yeares, and of right understanding and meamories, whether excommunicate or condemned shall have full power and libertie to make there wills and testaments, and other lawfull alienations of their lands and estates.

12. Every man whether Inhabitant or fforreiner, free or not free shall have libertie to come to any publique Court, Councel, or Towne meeting, and either by speech or writeing to move any lawfull, seasonable, and materiall question, or to present any necessary motion, complaint, petition, Bill or information, whereof that meeting hath proper cognizance, so it be done in convenient time, due order, and respective manner.

13. No man shall be rated here for any estaite or revenue he hath in England, or in any forreine partes till it be transported hither.

14. Any Conveyance or Alienation of land or other estaite what so ever, made by any woman that is married, any childe under age, Ideott or distracted person, shall be good if it be passed and ratified by the consent of a generall Court.

15. All Covenous or fraudulent Alienations or Conveyances of lands, tenements, or any heriditaments, shall be of no validitie to defeate any man from due debts or legacies, or from any just title, clame or possession, of that which is so fraudulently conveyed.

16. Every Inhabitant that is an howse holder shall have free fishing and fowling in any great ponds and Bayes, Coves and Rivers, so farre as the sea ebbes and flowes within the presincts of the towne where they dwell, unlesse the free men of the same Towne or the Generall Court have otherwise appropriated them, provided that this shall not be extended to give leave to any man to come upon others proprieties without there leave.

17. Every man of or within this Jurisdiction shall have free libertie, notwithstanding any Civill power to remove both himselfe, and his familie at their pleasure out of the same, provided there be no legall impediment to the contrarie.

Rites Rules and Liberties concerning Juditiall proceedings.

18. No mans person shall be restrained or imprisoned by any authority whatsoever, before the law hath sentenced him thereto, if he can put in sufficient securitie, bayle or mainprise, for his appearance, and good behaviour in the meane time, unlesse it be in Crimes Capitall, and Contempts in open Court, and in such cases where some expresse act of Court doth allow it.

19. If in a general Court any miscarriage shall be amongst the Assistants when they are by themselves that may deserve an Admonition or fine under 20 sh. it shall be examined and sentenced amongst themselves, If amongst the Deputies when they are by themselves, it shall be examined and sentenced amongst themselves, If it be when the whole Court is togeather, it shall be judged by the whole Court, and not severallie as before.

20. If any which are to sit as Judges in any other Court shall demeane themselves offensively in the Court, The rest of the Judges present shall have power to censure him for it, if the cause be of a high nature it shall be presented to and censured at the next superior Court.

21. In all cases where the first summons are not served six dayes before the Court, and the cause breifly specified in the warrant, where appearance is to be made by the partie summoned, it shall be at his libertie whether he will appeare or no, except all cases that are to be handled in Courts suddainly called, upon extraordinary occasions, In all cases where there appeares present and urgent cause any assistant or officer apointed shal have power to make out attachments for the first summons.

22. No man in any suit or action against an other shall falsely pretend great debts or damages to vex his adversary, if it shall appeare any doth so, The Court shall have power to set a reasonable fine on his head.

23. No man shall be adjudged to pay for detaining any debt from any Crediter above eight pounds in the hundred for one yeare, And not above that rate proportionable for all somes what so ever, neither shall this be a coulour or countenance to allow any usurie amongst us contrarie to the law of god.

24. In all Trespasses or damages done to any man or men, If it can be proved to be done by the meere default of him or them to whome the trespassse is done, It shall be judged no trespassse, nor any damage given for it.

25. No Summons pleading Judgement, or any kinde of pro-

ceeding in Court or course of Justice shall be abated, arested or reversed upon any kinde of cercumstantiall errors or mistakes, If the person and cause be rightly understood and intended by the Court.

26. Every man that findeth himselfe unfit to plead his owne cause in any Court shall have Libertie to imploy any man against whom the Court doth not except, to helpe him, Provided he give him noe fee or reward for his paines. This shall not exempt the partie him selfe from Answering such Questions in person as the Court shall thinke meete to demand of him.

27. If any plantife shall give into any Court a declaration of his cause in writeing, The defendant shall also have libertie and time to give in his answer in writeing, And so in all further proceedings betwene partie and partie, So it doth not further hinder the dispatch of Justice then the Court shall be willing unto.

28. The plantife in all Actions brought in any Court shall have libertie to withdraw his Action, or to be nonsuited before the Jurie hath given in their verdict, in which case he shall alwaies pay full cost and chardges to the defendant, and may afterwards renew his suite at an other Court if he please.

29. In all actions at law it shall be the libertie of the plantife and defendant by mutual consent to choose whether they will be tryed by the Bench or by a Jurie, unlesse it be where the law upon just reason hath otherwise determined. The like libertie shall be granted to all persons in Criminall cases.

30. It shall be in the libertie both of plantife and defendant, and likewise every delinquent (to be judged by a Jurie) to challenge any of the Jurors. And if his challenge be found just and reasonable by the Bench, or the rest of the Jurie, as the challenger shall choose it shall be allowed him, and tales de cercumstantibus impaneled in their room.

31. In all cases where evidences is so obscure or defective that the Jurie cannot clearely and safely give a positive verdict, whether it be a grand or petit Jurie, It shall have libertie to give a non Liquit, or a spetiall verdict, in which last, that is in a spetiall verdict, the Judgement of the cause shall be left to the Court, And all Jurors shall have libertie in matters of fact if they cannot finde the maine issue, yet to finde and present in their verdict so much as they can, If the Bench and Jurors shall so suffer at any time about their verdict that either of them cannot proceede with peace of conscience the case shall be referred to the Generall Court, who shall take the question from both and determine it.

32. Every man shall have libertie to replevy his Cattell or goods impounded, distreined, seised, or extended, unlesse it be upon execution after Judgement, and in paiment of fines. Provided he puts in good securitie to prosecute his replevin, And to satisfie such demands as his Adversary shall recover against him in Law.

33. No mans person shall be arrested, or imprisoned upon execution or judgment for any debt or fine, If the law can finde competent meanes of satisfaction otherwise from his estaite, and if not his person may be arrested and imprisoned where he shall be kept at his owne charge, not the plantife's till satisfaction be made, unlesse the Court that had cognizance of the cause or some superior Court shall otherwise provide.

34. If any man shall be proved and Judged a commen Barrator vexing others with unjust frequent and endlesse suites, It shall be in the power of Courts both to denie him the benefit of the law, and to punish him for his Barratry.

35. No mans corne nor hay that is in the feild or upon the Cart, nor his garden stuffe, nor any thing subject to present decay, shall be taken in any distresse, unles he that takes it doth presently bestow it where it may not be imbesled nor suffer spoile or decay, or give securitie to satisfie the worth thereof if it comes to any harme.

36. It shall be in the libertie of every man cast condemned or sentenced in any cause in any Inferior Court, to make their appeale to the Court of Assistants, provided they tender their appeale and put in securitie to prosecute it, before the Court be ended wherein they were condemned, And within six dayes next ensuing put in good securitie before some Assistant to satisfie what his Adversarie shall recover against him; And if the cause be of a Criminall nature for his good behaviour, and appearance, And everie man shall have libertie to complaine to the Generall Court of any Injustice done him in any Court of Assistants or other.

37. In all cases where it appeares to the Court that the plan-tife hath willingly and wittingly done wronge to the defendant in commenceing and prosecuting an action or complaint against him, They shall have power to impose upon him a proportionable fine to the use of the defendant or accused person, for his false complaint or clamor.

38. Everie man shall have libertie to Record in the publique Rolles of any Court any Testimony given upon oath in the same Court, or before two Assistants, or any deede or evidence legally

confirmed there to remaine in perpetuam rei memoriam, that is for perpetuall memoriall or evidence upon occasion.

39. In all actions both reall and personall betweene partie and partie, the Court shall have power to respite execution for a convenient time, when in their prudence they see just cause so to doe.

40. No Conveyance, Deede, or promise whatsoever shall be of validitie, If it be gotten by Illegal violence, imprisonment, threatening, or any kinde of forcible compulsion called Dures.

41. Everie man that is to Answer for any criminall cause, whether he be in prison or under bayle, his cause shall be heard and determined at the next Court that hath proper Cognizance thereof, And may be done without prejudice of Justice.

42. No man shall be twice sentenced by Civill Justice for one and the same Crime, offence, or Trespasse.

43. No man shall be beaten with above 40 stripes, nor shall any true gentleman, nor any man equall to a gentleman be punished with whipping, unles his crime be very shamefull, and his course of life vitious and profligate.

44. No man condemned to dye shall be put to death within fower dayes next after his condemnation, unles the Court see spetiall cause to the contrary, or in case of martiall law, nor shall the body of any man so put to death be unburied 12 howers unlesse it be in case of Anatomie.

45. No man shall be forced by Torture to confesse any Crime against himselfe nor any other unlesse it be in some Capitall case, where he is first fullie convicted by cleare and sufficient evidence to be guilty, After which if the cause be of that nature, That it is very apparent there be other conspiratours, or confederates with him, Then he may be tortured, yet not with such Tortures as be Barbarous and inhumane.

46. For bodilie punishments we allow amongst us none that are inhumane Barbarous or cruel.

47. No man shall be put to death without the testimony of two or three witnesses or that which is equivalent thereunto.

48. Every Inhabitant of the Countrie shall have free libertie to search and veewe any Rooles, Records, or Regesters of any Court or office except the Councell, And to have a transcript or exemplification thereof written examined, and signed by the hand of the officer of the office paying the appointed fees therefore.

49. No free man shall be compelled to serve upon Juries above two Courts in a yeare, except grand Jurie men, who shall hould two Courts together at the least.

50. All Jurors shall be chosen continuallie by the freemen of the Towne where they dwell.

51. All Associates selected at any time to Assist the Assistants in Inferior Courts, shall be nominated by the Townes belonging to that Court, by orderly agreement amonge themselves.

52. Children, Idiots, Distracted persons, and all that are strangers, or new comers to our plantation, shall have such allowances and dispensations in any cause whether Criminal or other as religion and reason require.

53. The age of discretion for passing away of lands or such kinde of hereditments, or for giving, of votes, verdicts or Sentence in any Civill Courts or causes, shall be one and twentie yeares.

54. Whensoever any thing is to be put to vote, any sentence to be pronounced, or any other matter to be proposed, or read in any Court or Assembly, If the president or moderator thereof shall refuse to performe it, the Major parte of the members of that Court or Assembly shall have power to appoint any other meete man of them to do it, And if there be just cause to punish him that should and would not.

55. In all suites or Actions in any Court, the plaintife shall have libertie to make all the titles and claims to that he sues for he can. And the Defendant shall have libertie to plead all the pleas he can in answere to them, and the Court shall judge according to the intire evidence of all.

56. If any man shall behave himselfe offensively at any Towne meeting, the rest of the freemen then present, shall have power to sentence him for his offence. So be it the mulct or penaltie exceede not twentie shilings.

57. Whensoever any person shall come to any very suddaine untimely and unnaturall death, Some assistant, or the Constables of that Towne shall forthwith sumon a Jury of twelve free men to inquire of the cause and manner of their death, and shall present a true verdict thereof to some neere Assistant, or the next Court to be helde for that Towne upon their oath.

Liberties more peculiarie concerning the free men.

58. Civill Authoritie hath power and libertie to see the peace, ordinances and Rules of Christ observed in every church according to his word. so it be done in a Civill and not in an Ecclesiastical way.

59. Civill Authoritie hath power and libertie to deale with any

Church member in a way of Civill Justice, notwithstanding any Church relation, office or interest.

60. No church censure shall degrade or depose any man from any Civill dignitie, office, or Authoritie he shall have in the Commonwealth.

61. No Magistrate, Juror, Officer, or other man shall be bound to informe present or reveale any private crim or offence, wherein there is no perill or danger to this plantation or any member thereof, when any necessarie tye of conscience binds him to secesie grounded upon the word of god, unlesse it be in case of testimony lawfully required.

62. Any Shire or Towne shall have libertie to choose their Deputies whom and where they please for the Generall Court. So be it they be free men, and have taken there oath of fealtie, and Inhabiting in this Jurisdiction.

63. No Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistant, Associate, or grand Jury man at any Court, nor any Deputie for the Generall Court, shall at any time beare his owne chardges at any Court, but their necessary expences shall be defrayed either by the Towne or Shire on whose service they are, or by the Country in generall.

64. Everie Action betweene partie and partie, and proceedings against delinquents in Criminall causes shall be briefly and distinctly entered on the Rolles of every Court by the Recorder thereof. That such actions be not afterwards brought againe to the vexation of any man.

65. No custome or prescription shall ever prevaile amongst us in any morall cause, our meaneing is maintaine anything that can be proved to be morrallie sinfull by the word of god.

66. The Freemen of every Towneship shall have power to make such by laws and constitutions as may concerne the wellfare of their Towne, provided they be not of a Criminall, but onely of a prudential nature, And that their penalties exceede not 20 sh. for one offence. And that they be not repugnant to the publique laws and orders of the Countrie. And if any Inhabitant shall neglect or refuse to observe them, they shall have power to levy the appointed penalties by distresse.

67. It is the constant libertie of the free men of this plantation to choose yearly at the Court of Election out of the freemen all the General officers of this Jurisdiction. If they please to discharge them at the day of Election by way of vote. They may do it without shewing cause. But if at any other generall Court, we hould it due justice, that the reasons thereof be alleadged and

proved. By Generall officers we meane, our Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, Treasurer, Generall of our warres. And our Admirall at Sea, and such as are or hereafter may be of the like generall nature.

68. It is the libertie of the freemen to choose such deputies for the Generall Court out of themselves, either in their owne Townes or elsewhere as they judge fittest. And because we cannot foresee what varietie and weight of occasions may fall into future consideration, And what counsells we may stand in neede of, we decree. That the Deputies (to attend the Generall Court in the behalfe of the Countrie) shall not any time be stated or inacted, but from Court to Court, or at the most but for one yeare, that the Countrie may have an Annuall libertie to do in that case what is most behoofefull for the best welfaire thereof.

69. No Generall Court shall be desolved or adjourned without the consent of the Major parte thereof.

70. All Freemen called to give any advise, vote, verdict, or sentence in any Court, Counsell, or Civill Assembly, shall have full freedome to doe it according to their true Judgements and Consciences, So it be done orderly and inofensively for the manner.

71. The Governor shall have a casting voice whensoever an Equi vote shall fall out in the Court of Assistants, or generall assembly, So shall the presedent or moderator have in all Civill Courts or Assemblies.

72. The Governor and Deputy Governor Joyntly consenting or any three Assistants concurring in consent shall have power out of Court to reprove a condemned malefactor, till the next quarter or generall Court. The generall Court onely shall have power to pardon a condemned malefactor.

73. The Generall Court hath libertie and Authoritie to send out any member of this Comanwealth of what qualitie, condition or office whatsoever into forreine parts about any publique message or Negotiation. Provided the partie sent be acquainted with the affaire he goeth about, and be willing to undertake the service.

74. The freemen of every Towne or Towneship, shall have full power to choose yearly or for lesse time out of themselves a convenient number of fitt men to order the planting or prudentiall occasions of that Towne, according to Instructions given them in writeing, Provided nothing be done by them contrary to the publique laws and orders of the Countrie, provided also the number of such select persons be not above nine.

75. It is and shall be the libertie of any member or members of

any Court Councill or Civill Assembly in cases of makeing or executing any order or law, that properlie concerne religion, or any cause capitall, or warres, or Subscription to any publike Articles or Remonstrance, in case they cannot in Judgement and conscience consent to that way the Major vote or suffrage goes, to make their contra Remonstrance or protestation in speech or writeing, and upon request to have their dissent recorded in the Rolles of that Court. So it be done Christianlie and respectively for the manner. And their dissent onely be entered without the reasons thereof, for the avoiding of tediousnes.

76. Whensoever any Jurie of trialls or Jurours are not cleare in their Judgments or consciences conserneing any cause wherein they are to give their verdict, They shall have libertie in open Court to advise with any man they thinke fitt to resolve or direct them, before they give in their verdict.

77. In all cases wherein any freeman is to give his vote, be it in point of Election, makeing constitutions and orders or passing sentence in any case of Judicature or the like, if he cannot see reason to give it positively one way or an other, he shall have libertie to be silent, and not pressed to a determined vote.

78. The Generall or publike Treasure or any parte thereof shall never be expended but by the appointment of a Generall Court, nor any Shire Treasure, but by the appointment of the freemen thereof, nor any Towne Treasurie but by the freemen of that Township.

Liberties of Women.

79. If any man at his death shall not leave his wife a competent portion of his estaite, upon just complaint made to the Generall Court she shall be relieved.

80. Everie marryed woeman shall be free from bodilie correction or stripes by her husband, unlesse it be in his owne defence upon her assalt. If there be any just cause of correction complaint shall be made to Authoritie assembled in some Court, from which onely she shall receive it.

Liberties of Children.

81. When parents dye intestate, the Elder sonne shall have a double portion of his whole estate reall and personall, unlesse the Generall Court upon just cause alleadged shall judge otherwise.

82. When parents dye intestate haveing noe heires males of their bodies their Daughters shall inherit as Copartners, unles the Generall Court upon just reason shall judge otherwise.

83. If any parents shall wilfullie and unreasonably deny any childe timely or convenient mariage, or shall exercise any unnaturall severitie towards them, such children shall have free libertie to complaine to Authoritie for redresse.

84. No Orphan dureing their minority which was not committed to tuition or service by the parents in their life time, shall afterwards be absolutely disposed of by any kindred, freind, Executor, Towneship, or Church, nor by themselves without the consent of some Court, wherein two Assistants at least shall be present.

Liberties of Servants.

85. If any servants shall flee from the Tiranny and crueltie of their masters to the howse of any freeman of the same Towne, they shall be there protected and susteyned till due order be taken for their relife. Provided due notice thereof be speedily given to their maisters from whom they fled. And the next Assistant or Constable where the partie flying is harboured.

86. No servant shall be put of for above a yeare to any other neither in the life time of their maister nor after their death by their Executors or Administrators unlesse it be by consent of Authoritie assembled in some Court or two Assistants.

87. If any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man-servant, or maid servant, or otherwise mayme or much disfigure him, unlesse it be by meere casualtie, he shall let them goe free from his service. And shall have such further recompense as the Court shall allow him.

88. Servants that have served deligentlie and faithfully to the benefitt of their maisters seaven yeares, shall not be sent away emptie. And if any have bene unfaithfull, negligent or unprofitable in their service, notwithstanding the good usage of their maisters, they shall not be dismissed till they have made satisfaction according to the Judgement of Authoritie.

Liberties of Forreiners and Strangers.

89. If any people of other Nations professing the true Christian Religion shall flee to us from the Tiranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famyne, warres, or the like necessary and

compulsarie cause, They shall be entertayned and succoured amongst us, according to that power and prudence, god shall give us.

90. If any ships or other vessels, be it freind or enemy, shall suffer shipwrack upon our Coast, there shall be no violence or wrong offerred to their persons or goods. But their persons shall be harboured, and relieved, and their goods preserved in safety till Authoritie may be certified thereof, and shall take further order therein.

91. There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or Captivitie amongst us unles it be lawfull Captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of god established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged thereto by Authoritie.

Off the Bruite Creature.

92. No man shall exercise any Tirranny or Crueltie towards any brute Creature which are usuallie kept for man's use.

93. If any man shall have occasion to leade or drive Cattel from place to place that is far of, so that they be weary, or hungry, or fall sick, or lambe, It shall be lawful to rest or refresh them, for competant time, in any open place that is not Corne, meadow, or inclosed for some peculiar use.

94. Capitall Lawes.

I.

Deut. 13. 6, 10.
Deut. 17. 2, 6.
Ex. 22. 20.

If any man after legall conviction shall have or worship any other god, but the lord god, he shall be put to death.

2.

Ex. 22. 18.
Lev. 20. 27.
Dut. 18. 10.

If any man or woeman be a witch, (that is hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit,) They shall be put to death.

3.

If any person shall Blaspheme the name of god, the father, Sonne or Holie Ghost, with direct, expresse, presumptuous or high handed blasphemie, or shall curse god in the like manner, he shall be put to death.

Lev. 24. 15, 16.

4.

If any person committ any wilfull murther, which is manslaughter, committed upon premeditated malice, hatred, or Crueltie, not in a mans necessarie and just defence, nor by meere casualltie against his will, he shall be put to death.

Ex. 21. 12.
Numb. 35. 13,
14, 30, 31.

5.

If any person slayeth an other suddaienly in his anger or Crueltie of passion, he shall be put to death.

Numb. 25, 20, 21.
Lev. 24. 17.

6.

If any person shall slay an other through guile, either by poysoning or other such diuelish practice, he shall be put to death.

Ex. 21. 14.

7.

If any man or woeman shall lye with any beaste or brute creature by Carnall Copulation, They shall surely be put to death. And the beast shall be slaine, and buried and not eaten.

Lev. 20. 15, 16.

8.

If any man lyeth with mankinde as he lyeth with a woeman, both of them have committed abhominaton, they both shall surely be put to death.

Lev. 20. 13.

9.

If any person committeth Adultery with a married or espoused wife, the Adulterer and Adulteresse shall surely be put to death.

Lev. 20. 10.
and 18, 20.
Dut. 22. 23, 24.

10.

If any man stealeth a man or mankinde, he shall surely be put to death.

Ex. 21. 16.

11.

If any man rise up by false witnes, wittingly and of purpose to take away any mans life, he shall be put to death.

Deut. 19. 16,
18, 19.

12.

If any man shall conspire and attempt any invasion, insurrection, or publike rebellion against our commonwealth, or shall

indeavour to surprize any Towne or Townes, fort or forts therein, or shall treacherously and perfediouslie attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame of politie or Government fundamentallie, he shall be put to death.

95. *A Declaration of the Liberties the Lord Jesus hath given to the Churches.*

I.

All the people of god within this Jurisdiction who are not in a church way, and be orthodox in Judgement, and not scandalous in life, shall have full libertie to gather themselves into a Church Estaite. Provided they doe it in a Christian way, with due observation of the rules of Christ revealed in his word.

2.

Every Church hath full libertie to exercise all the ordinances of god, according to the rules of scripture.

3.

Every Church hath free libertie of Election and ordination of all their officers from time to time, provided they be able, pious and orthodox.

4.

Every Church hath free libertie of Admission, Recommendation, Dismission, and Expulsion, or deposall of their officers, and members, upon due cause, with free exercise of the Discipline and Censures of Christ according to the rules of his word.

5.

No Injunctions are to be put upon any Church, Church officers or member in point of Doctrine, worship or Discipline, whether for substance or circumstance besides the Institutions of the lord.

6.

Every Church of Christ hath freedome to celebrate dayes of fasting and prayer, and of thanksgiving according to the word of god.

7.

The Elders of Churches have free libertie to meete monthly, Quarterly, or otherwise, in convenient numbers and places, for conferences, and consultations about Christian and Church questions and occasions.

8.

All Churches have libertie to deale with any of their members in a church way that are in the hand of Justice. So it be not to retard or hinder the course thereof.

9.

Every Church hath libertie to deale with any magistrate, Deputie of Court or other officer what soe ever that is a member in a church way in case of apparent and just offence given in their places, so it be done with due observance and respect.

10.

Wee allowe private meetings for edification in religion amongst Christians of all sortes of people. So it be without just offence for number, time, place, and other circumstances.

11.

For the preventing and removing of errour and offence that may grow and spread in any of the Churches in this Jurisdiction, And for the preserving of trueith and peace in the severall churches within themselves, and for the maintenance and exercise of brotherly communion, amongst all the churches in the Countie, It is allowed and ratified, by the Authoritie of this Generall Court as a lawfull libertie of the Churches of Christ. That once in every month of the yeare (when the season will beare it) It shall be lawfull for the minesters and Elders, of the Churches neere adjoyneing together, with any other of the bretheren with the consent of the churches to assemble by course in each severall Church one after an other. To the intent after the preaching of the word by such a minister as shall be requested thereto by the Elders of the church where the Assembly is held, The rest of the day may be spent in publique Christian Conference about the discussing and resolving of any such doubts and cases of conscience concerning matter of doctrine or worship or government of the church as shall be propounded by any of the Bretheren

of that church, will leave also to any other Brother to propound his objections or answers for further satisfaction according to the word of god. Provided that the whole action be guided and moderated by the Elders of the Church where the Assemblie is helde, or by such others as they shall appoint. And that no thing be concluded and imposed by way of Authoritie from one or more churches upon an other, but onely by way of Brotherly conference and consultations. That the trueth may be searched out to the satisfying of every mans conscience in the sight of god according his worde. And because such an Assembly and the worke thereof can not be duely attended to if other lectures be held in the same weeke. It is therefore agreed with the consent of the Churches. That in that weeke when such an Assembly is held, All the lectures in all the neighbouring Churches for that weeke shall be forborne. That so the publique service of Christ in this more solemne Assembly may be transacted with greater deligence and attention.

96. Howsoever these above specified rites, freedoms Immunities, Authorites and priveledges, both Civill and Ecclesiastical are expressed onely under the name and title of Liberties, and not in the exact forme of Laws or Statutes, yet we do with one consent fullie Authorise, and earnestly intreate all that are and shall be in Authoritie to consider them as laws, and not to faile to inflict condigne and proportionable punishments upon every man impartiallie, that shall infringe or violate any of them.

97. Wee likewise give full power and libertie to any person that shall at any time be denyed or deprived of any of them, to commence and prosecute their suite, Complaint or action against any man that shall so doe in any Court that hath proper Cognizance or judicature thereof.

98. Lastly because our dutie and desire is to do nothing sudaïnlie which fundamentally concerne us, we decree that these rites and liberties, shall be Audably read and deliberately weighed at every Generall Court that shall be held, within three yeares next insueing, And such of them as shall not be altered or repealed they shall stand so ratified, That no man shall infringe them without due punishment.

And if any Generall Court within these next thre yeares shall faile or forget to reade and consider them as abovesaid. The Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, and every Assistant present at such Courts, shall forfeite 20sh. a man, and everie Deputie 10sh. a man for each neglect, which shall be paid

out of their proper estate, and not by the Country or the Townes which choose them, and whensoever there shall arise any question in any Court amonge the Assistants and Associates thereof about the explanation of these Rites and liberties, The Generall Court onely shall have power to interprett them.

In the first year that Deputies from the towns took their place in the General Court, "John Winthrop and Richard Bellingham, Esq. [March 4, 1635] were desired by the Court to take a view of all orders already made and to inform the next General Court which of them they judged meet to be altered, abbreviated, repealed, corrected, enlarged, or explained, &c. (Mass. Rec., I. 137.) The General Court came together May 6, and the business remaining undone, the Governor [Haynes], Deputy-Governor [Bellingham], John Winthrop, and Thomas Dudley, Esq., were deputed by the Court to make a draft of such laws as they should judge needful for the well-ordering of this plantation, and to present the same to the Court." (Ibid., 147; comp. Winthrop, I. 160.)

A year passed. Another General Court assembled; and "the Governor [Vane], Deputy-Governor [Winthrop], Thomas Dudley, John Haynes, Richard Bellingham, Esq., Mr. Cotton, Mr. Peter, and Mr. Shepard were entreated [May 25, 1636] to make a draft of laws agreeable to the word of God, which might be the fundamentals of this Commonwealth, and to present the same to the next General Court." (Mass. Rec., I. 174.) Provisionally "the Magistrates and their associates" were to "proceed in the Courts to hear and determine all causes according to the laws now established; and where there is no law, then as near the law of God as they can. The public attention was distracted by the Pequot war and the Antinomian controversy. Haynes was just going away; the young Governor had already enough upon his hands; and others of the commission had no heart for the business. Cotton held a ready pen, and loved a various activity. At the time appointed he was all prepared, and "did present a copy of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further consideration till the next General Court." (Winthrop, I. 202.) It was probably easy for the quietists to persuade the Court that it would be scarcely decorous for them to act when one only of their committee had given his advice.

Two years had followed since their last action, and the freemen, . . . patient, but tenacious of their purpose, tried the virtue of a more formal method (March 12, 1638), and "ordered that the freemen of every town (or some part thereof chosen by the rest) within this jurisdiction shall assemble together in their several towns, and collect the heads of such necessary and fundamental laws as may be suitable to the times and places where God by his providence hath cast us, and the heads of such laws to deliver in writing to the Governor for the time being before the 5th day of the 4th month, called June, next, to the intent that the same Governor, together with the rest of the Standing Council, and Richard Bellingham, Esq., Mr. Bulkley, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Peter, and Mr. Shepard, elders of several churches, Mr. Nathaniel Ward, Mr. William Spencer, and Mr. William Hathorne, or the major part of them, may, upon the survey of such heads of laws, make a compendious abridgment of the same by the

General Court in autumn next, adding yet to the same or detracting therefrom what in their wisdoms shall seem meet, so that, the whole work being perfected to the best of their skill, it may be presented to the General Court for confirmation or rejection, as the Court shall adjudge."

Fifteen months came and went, but "most of the magistrates and some of the elders were not forward in the matter" (Winthrop, I. 322); and the General Court. . . was fain to order (June 6, 1639) "that the Marshal shall give notice to the Committee about the body of laws, to send unto the next General Court such drafts of laws as they had prepared, for the Court to take order about them what to settle." (Mass. Rec., I. 262.)

Still the coveted object did but mock their hopes with the show of having been approached. The tactics of delay were inexhaustible. Some "drafts of laws" indeed came in (two only, as far as we know,—Cotton's and Ward's); but the best that their friends could get done for them was an order (November 5, 1639) that "the Governor [Winthrop], Deputy-Governor [Dudley], Treasurer [Bellingham], and Mr. Stoughton, or any three of them, with two or more of the Deputies of Boston, Charlestown, or Roxbury, shall peruse all those models which have been, or shall be, further presented to this Court, or themselves, concerning a form of government and laws to be established, and shall draw them up into one body (altering, adding, or omitting what they shall think fit), and shall take order that the same shall be copied out and sent to the several towns, that the elders of the churches and the freemen may consider of them against the next General Court." (Ibid., 279.) And the case must have seemed to be getting well-nigh desperate, when, six months later yet (May 13, 1640), in consideration that "a breviate of laws was formerly sent forth to be considered by the elders of the churches and other freemen of this Commonwealth," it was "desired that they would endeavor to ripen their thoughts and counsels about the same by the General Court in the next eighth month." (Ibid., 292.) "The next eighth month" accomplished no more than its predecessors. The Court met, but the question was kept out of notice.

It came to be differently treated, when, on the one hand, from several years' experience, the characteristics of a useful jurisprudence had at length disclosed themselves, and, on the other, Parliament was crowding on the King, and in Massachusetts the fear of impending hostility from England was dying away. There had probably grown up a sincere disposition among the guides of public action to meet the popular wish for a legal code, when (June 2, 1641), in the place of an interminable consultation of the towns, the service of a learned lawyer was enlisted, and "the Governor [Bellingham] was appointed to peruse all the laws, and take notice of what may be fit to be repealed, what to be rectified, what to stand, and make return to the next General Court." (Ibid., 320.) And when, sufficient time having been allowed for this examination, "the Governor and Mr. Hathorne were desired [October 7] to speak to Mr. Ward for a copy of the Liberties and of the Capital Laws to be transcribed and sent to the several towns" (Ibid., 341), the order may be held to indicate a general desire in high quarters that the Deputies might next come together prepared for definitive action in favor of his code. The session of the General Court which adopted this vote was continued by adjournments more than two months. And that the project of a Statute-Book, and of Ward's in particular, was still gaining favor, may be inferred from the passage of an order (December 10) by which "Mr. Deputy Endicott, Mr. Downing,

and Mr. Hathorne are authorized to get nineteen copies of the laws, liberties, and the forms of oaths transcribed and subscribed by their several hands, and none to be authentic but such as they subscribe, and to be paid for by the constable of each town, ten shillings apiece for each copy, and to be prepared within six weeks." (Ibid., 344.) At length, in a session which "continued three weeks" (in December), the General Court "established the hundred laws which were called *The Body of Liberties*. They . . . had been revised and altered by the Court, and sent forth into every town to be further considered of, and now again in this Court they were revised, amended, and presented." (Winthrop, II. 55.)—*Palfrey*.

A MS. copy of "The Body of Liberties" of the Massachusetts Colony, the first code of laws established in New England, and therefore in a very real sense our "Magna Charta," was discovered in the Boston Athenæum by Francis C. Gray, and published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Third Series, vol. viii., in 1843; and the student should read Gray's valuable essay on the Early Laws of Massachusetts accompanying it. He shows the absurdity of prevalent notions that the first Massachusetts code was deduced almost literally from the Books of Moses. On the contrary, the code evinces not only the fathers' "acknowledged love of liberty," but a noteworthy degree of "practical good sense in legislation and liberality of sentiment." The code was far in advance of the time.

In 1889 William H. Whitmore printed the MS. discovered by Mr. Gray in fac-simile in the introduction to his reprint of the "Colonial Laws of the Massachusetts Colony," and again with his "Bibliographical Sketch" of those laws, which is worthy of careful study.

A significant defence of the early Massachusetts laws, prepared by a committee including Winthrop, Dudley, and Bellingham, was embodied in a Declaration of the General Court in 1646 concerning a remonstrance of Robert Child, Thomas Fowle, Samuel Maverick, and others against certain features of this legislation. This Declaration, which includes parallels between "The Body of Liberties" and Magna Charta and the Common Law of England, is printed in Hutchinson's "Original Papers relative to Massachusetts," 1769, pp. 196-218, following the remonstrance. There is much concerning this in Winthrop's History (vol. ii.), the section covering 1646. See Barry's History of Mass., i. 275. Palfrey, etc.

Nathaniel Ward, the compiler of "The Body of Liberties," was born about 1578 at Haverhill in England, and was the son of Rev. John Ward, an eminent Puritan minister. He was graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1603, studied law, and became a barrister. Travelling extensively on the Continent, he met at Heidelberg the celebrated writer, David Pareus, who induced him to enter the ministry. He served as a clergyman for a time at Elbing in Prussia, then returning to England, lecturing in London, and then settling in Essex, where he became a Puritan leader, and in 1631 was brought before Laud. In 1634 he came to New England, and became the colleague of Rev. Thomas Parker at Ipswich. After two years, owing to feeble health, he resigned his pastorate, but continued to reside at Ipswich. Here he compiled "The Body of Liberties," which was adopted by the General Court of Massachusetts in December, 1641. In 1646 he published "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," which at once became so famous. See the review of it and of Ward's general work by Professor Moses Coit Tyler in his "History of American Literature"; also by Rev. T. Franklin Waters in his edition of "The Simple Cobbler." Returning to England in 1647, Ward became minister of the church at Shenfield in Essex, where he remained until his death in 1652. His sermon before the House of Commons in 1647 and various writings relating to the conflicts of that stormy time in England were published. Probably few of his associates in New England had legal abilities and training superior to his. "I have read almost all the Common Law of England," he says in his "Simple Cobbler"; and this was clearly the main source of the Massachusetts "Body of Liberties." In the defence of the Massachusetts laws by the authorized committee of the colony in 1646, referred to above, these laws are compared only with Magna Charta and the Common Law of England.

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The Law of Nature in Government.

BY REV. JOHN WISE.

FROM "A VINDICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES."

I shall disclose several principles of natural knowledge, plainly discovering the law of nature, or the true sentiments of natural reason, with respect to man's being and government. And in this essay I shall peculiarly confine the discourse to two heads, namely:

1. Of the natural (in distinction from the civil), and then,
2. Of the civil being of man. And I shall principally take Baron Puffendorff for my chief guide and spokesman.

(1) I shall consider man in a state of natural being, as a free-born subject under the crown of heaven, and owing homage to none but God himself. It is certain civil government in general is a very admirable result of providence, and an incomparable benefit to mankind, yet must needs be acknowledged to be the effect of human free-compacts and not of divine institution; it is the produce of man's reason, of human and rational combinations, and not from any direct orders of infinite wisdom, in any positive law wherein is drawn up this or that scheme of civil government. Government (says Lord Warrington) is necessary . . . in that no society of men can subsist without it; and that particular form of government is necessary which best suits the temper and inclination of a people. Nothing can be God's ordinance but what he has particularly declared to be such; there is no par-

ticular form of civil government described in God's word, neither does nature prompt it. The government of the Jews was changed five times. Government is not formed by nature, as other births or productions; if it were, it would be the same in all countries, because nature keeps the same method, in the same thing, in all climates. If a commonwealth be changed into a monarchy, is it nature that forms and brings forth the monarch? Or if a royal family be wholly extinct (as in Noah's case, being not heir apparent from descent from Adam), is it nature that must go to work (with the king's bees, who themselves alone preserve the royal race in that empire) to breed a monarch before the people can have a king, or a government sent over them? And thus we must leave the kings to resolve which is their best title to their crowns, whether natural right or the constitution of government settled by human compacts, under the direction and conduct of reason.

But to proceed under the head of a state of natural being, I shall more distinctly explain the state of human nature in its original capacity, as man is placed on earth by his Maker, and clothed with many investitures and immunities which properly belong to man separately considered. As,

The prime immunity in man's state is that he is most properly the subject of the law of nature. He is the favorite animal on earth; in that this part of God's image, namely, reason, is congenate with his nature, wherein by a law immutable, enstamped upon his frame, God has provided a rule for men in all their actions, obliging each one to the performance of that which is right, not only as to justice, but likewise as to all other moral virtues, the which is nothing but the dictate of right reason founded in the soul of man. (Molloy, *De Mao, Præf.*) That which is to be drawn from man's reason, flowing from the true current of that faculty, when unperverted, may be said to be the law of nature, on which account the Holy Scriptures declare it written on men's hearts. For being endowed with a soul, you may know from yourself how and what you ought to act. (Rom. 2:14.) These, having not a law, are a law to themselves. So that the meaning is, when we acknowledge the law of nature to be the dictate of right reason, we must mean that the understanding of man is endowed with such a power as to be able, from the contemplation of human condition, to discover a necessity of living agreeably with this law, and likewise to find out some principle by which the precepts of it may be clearly and solidly demonstrated.

The way to discover the law of nature in our own state is by a narrow watch and accurate contemplation of our natural condition and propensions. Others say this is the way to find out the law of nature; namely, if a man any way doubts, whether what he is going to do to another man be agreeable to the law of nature, then let him suppose himself to be in that other man's room, and by this rule effectually executed. A man must be a very dull scholar to nature not to make proficiency in the knowledge of her laws. But more particularly in pursuing our condition for the discovery of the law of nature, this is very obvious to view, namely,

(1) A principle of self-love and self-preservation is very predominant in every man's being.

(2) A sociable disposition.

(3) An affection or love to mankind in general.

And, to give such sentiments the force of a law, we must suppose a God who takes care of all mankind, and has thus obliged each one, as a subject of higher principles of being than mere instincts. For that all law, properly considered, supposes a capable subject and a superior power, and the law of God which is binding, is published by the dictates of right reason as other ways. Therefore, says Plutarch, to follow God and obey reason is the same thing. But, moreover, that God has established the law of nature as the general rule of government is further illustrable from the many sanctions in providence, and from the peace and guilt of conscience in them that either obey or violate the law of nature. But, moreover, the foundation of the law of nature with relation to government may be thus discovered, namely: Man is a creature extremely desirous of his own preservation; of himself he is plainly exposed to many wants, unable to secure his own safety and maintenance without assistance of his fellows; and he is also able of returning kindness by the furtherance of mutual good; but yet man is often found to be malicious, insolent, and easily provoked, and as powerful in effecting mischief as he is ready in designing it. Now that such a creature may be preserved, it is necessary that he be sociable; that is, that he be capable and disposed to unite himself to those of his own species, and to regulate himself towards them, that they may have no fair reason to do him harm, but rather incline to promote his interests and secure his rights and concerns. This then is a fundamental law of nature, that every man, as far as in him lies, do maintain a sociableness with others, agreeable with

the main end and disposition of human nature in general. For this is very apparent, that reason and society render man the most potent of all creatures. And, finally, from the principles of sociableness it follows, as a fundamental law of nature, that man is not so wedded to his own interest but that he can make the common good the mark of his aim; and hence he becomes capacitated to enter into a civil state by the law of nature; for without this property in nature, namely, sociableness, which is for cementing of parts, every government would soon moulder and dissolve.

The second great immunity of man is an original liberty enstamped upon his rational nature. He that intrudes upon this liberty violates the law of nature. In this discourse I shall waive the consideration of man's moral turpitude, but shall view him physically as a creature which God has made and furnished essentially with many ennobling immunities, which render him the most august animal in the world, and still, whatever has happened since his creation, he remains at the upper end of nature, and as such is a creature of a very noble character. For as to his dominion, the whole frame of the lower part of the universe is devoted to his use and at his command; and his liberty under the conduct of right reason is equal with his trust. Which liberty may be briefly considered, internally as to his mind, and externally as to his person.

(1) The native liberty of man's nature implies a faculty of doing or omitting things according to the direction of his judgment. But in a more special meaning this liberty does not consist in a loose and ungovernable freedom or in an unbounded license of acting. Such license is disagreeing with the condition and dignity of man, and would make man of a lower and meaner constitution than brute creatures, who in all their liberties are kept under a better and more rational government by their instincts. Therefore, as Plutarch says: Those persons only who live in obedience to reason are worthy to be accounted free: they alone live as they will who have learned what they ought to will. So that the true natural liberty of man, such as really and truly agrees to him, must be understood, as he is guided and restrained by the ties of reason and laws of nature; all the rest is brutal, if not worse.

(2) Man's external personal, natural liberty, antecedent to all human parts or alliances, must also be considered. And so every man must be conceived to be perfectly in his own power and disposal, and not to be controlled by the authority of any

other. And thus every man must be acknowledged equal to every man, since all subjection and all command are equally banished on both sides; and, considering all men thus at liberty, every man has a prerogative to judge for himself, namely, what shall be most for his behoof, happiness, and well-being.

The third capital immunity belonging to man's nature is an equality amongst men, which is not to be denied by the law of nature, till man has resigned himself with all his rights for the sake of a civil state, and then his personal liberty and equality is to be cherished and preserved to the highest degree, as will consist with all just distinctions amongst men of honor, and shall be agreeable with the public good. For man has a high valuation of himself, and the passion seems to lay its first foundation (not in pride, but) really in the high and admirable frame and constitution of human nature. The word man, says my author, is thought to carry somewhat of dignity in its sound; and we commonly make use of this as the most proper and prevailing argument against a rude insulter, namely, I am not a beast or a dog, but am a man as well as yourself. Since, then, human nature agrees equally with all persons, and since no one can live a sociable life with another that does not own or respect him as a man, it follows, as a command of the law of nature, that every man esteem and treat another as one who is naturally his equal, or who is a man as well as he. There be many popular or plausible reasons that greatly illustrate this equality, namely, that we all derive our being from one stock, the same common father of the human race. On this consideration Boethius checks the pride of the insulting nobility.

Quid genus et proavos strepitis?
 Si primordia vestra,
 Auteremque deum spectas,
 Nullus degener extat
 Nisi vitiis pejora fovens,
 Proprium deserat ortum.

Fondly our first descent we boast;
 If whence at first our breath we drew,
 The common springs of life we view,
 The airy notion soon is lost.
 The Almighty made us equal all;
 But he that slavishly complies
 To do the drudgery of vice
 Denies his high original.

And also that our bodies are composed of matter, frail, brittle, and liable to be destroyed by thousand accidents; we all owe our existence to the same method of propagation. The noblest mortal in his entrance on the stage of life is not distinguished by any pomp, or of passage from the lowest of mankind, and our life hastens to the same general mark. Death observes no ceremony, but knocks as loud at the barriers of the court as at the door of the cottage. This equality being admitted bears a very great force in maintaining peace and friendship amongst men. For that he who would use the assistance of others in promoting his own advantage ought as freely to be at their service when they want his help on the like occasion. One good turn requires another, is the common proverb; for otherwise he must need esteem others unequal to himself who constantly demands their aid and as constantly denies his own. And whoever is of this insolent temper cannot but highly displease those about him, and soon give occasion of the breach of the common peace. It was a manly reproof which Caractacus gave the Romans. *Num si vos omnibus*, etc. What! because you desire to be masters of all men, does it follow therefore that all men should desire to be your slaves, for that it is a command of nature's law that no man that has not obtained a particular and special right shall arrogate to himself a larger share than his fellows, but shall admit others to equal privileges with himself. So that the principle of equality in a natural state is peculiarly transgressed by pride, which is, when a man without sufficient reason prefers himself to others. And though as Hensius paraphrases upon Aristotle's politics to this purpose, namely: Nothing is more suitable to nature than that those who excel in understanding and prudence should rule and control those who are less happy in those advantages, etc. Yet we must note that there is room for an answer, namely, that it would be the greatest absurdity to believe that nature actually invests the wise with a sovereignty over the weak or with a right of forcing them against their wills; for that no sovereignty can be established, unless some human deed or covenant precede. Nor does natural fitness for government make a man presently governor over another; for that as Ulpian says, by a natural right all men are born free, and nature having set all men upon a level and made them equals, no servitude or subjection can be conceived without inequality; and this cannot be made without usurpation or force in others, or voluntary compliance in those who resign their freedom

and give away their degree of natural being. And thus we come,

2. To consider man in a civil state of being, wherein we shall observe the great difference between a natural and political state; for in the latter state many great disproportions appear, or at least many obvious distinctions are soon made amongst men, which doctrine is to be laid open under a few heads.

(1) Every man, considered in a natural state, must be allowed to be free and at his own disposal; yet to suit man's inclinations to society, and in a peculiar manner to gratify the necessity he is in of public rule and order, he is impelled to enter into a civil community, and divests himself of his natural freedom, and puts himself under government, which, amongst other things, comprehends the power of life and death over him, together with authority to enjoin him some things to which he has an utter aversion, and to prohibit him other things for which he may have as strong an inclination, so that he may be often, under this authority, obliged to sacrifice his private for the public good; so that, though man is inclined to society, yet he is driven to a combination by great necessity. For that the true and leading cause of forming governments and yielding up natural liberty, and throwing man's equality into a common pile to be new cast by the rules of fellowship, was really and truly to guard themselves against the injuries men were liable to interchangeably; for none so good to man as man, and yet none a greater enemy. So that,

(2) The first human subject and original of civil power is the people; for as they have a power every man over himself in a natural state, so upon a combination they can and do bequeath this power unto others, and settle it according as their united discretion shall determine. For that this is very plain, that when the subject of sovereign power is quite extinct, that power returns to the people again. And when they are free, they may set up what species of government they please; or, if they rather incline to it, they may subside into a state of natural being, if it be plainly for the best. In the Eastern country of the Mogul we have some resemblance of the case, for upon the death of an absolute monarch they live so many days without a civil head; but in that interregnum those who survive the vacancy are glad to get into a civil state again, and usually they are in a very bloody condition when they return under the covert of a new monarch; this project is to endear the people to a tyranny, from the experience they have so lately had of an anarchy.

(3) The formal reason of government is the will of a community yielded up and surrendered to some other subject, either of one particular person or more, conveyed in the following manner.

Let us conceive in our mind a multitude of men, all naturally free and equal, going about voluntarily to erect themselves into a new commonwealth. Now their condition being such, to bring themselves into a politic body, they must needs enter into divers covenants.

1. They must interchangeably each man covenant to join in one lasting society, that they may be capable to concert the measures of their safety by a public vote.

2. A vote or decree must then nextly pass to set up some particular species of government over them. And if they are joined in their first compact upon absolute terms to stand to the decision of the first vote concerning the species of government, then all are bound by the majority to acquiesce in that particular form thereby settled, though their own private opinions incline them to some other model.

3. After a decree has specified the particular form of government, then there will be need of a new covenant, whereby those on whom sovereignty is conferred engage to take care of the common peace and welfare; and the subjects, on the other hand, to yield them faithful obedience; in which covenant is included that submission and union of wills by which a state may be conceived to be but one person. So that the most proper definition of a civil state is this, namely: A civil state is a compound moral person, whose will (united by those covenants before passed) is the will of all, to the end it may use and apply the strength and riches of private persons towards maintaining the common peace, security, and well-being of all, which may be conceived as though the whole state was now become but one man; in which the aforesaid covenants may be supposed, under God's providence, to be the divine fiat pronounced by God, "Let us make man." And by way of resemblance the aforesaid being may be thus anatomized.

(1) The sovereign power is the soul infused, giving life and motion to the whole body.

(2) Subordinate officers are the joints by which the body moves.

(3) Wealth and riches are the strength.

(4) Equity and laws are the reason.

(5) Counsellors the memory.

(6) *Salus Populi*, or the happiness of the people, is the end of its being, or main business to be attended and done.

(7) Concord amongst the members and all estates is the health.

(8) Sedition is sickness, and civil war death.

4. The parts of sovereignty may be considered thus:—

(1) As it prescribes the rule of action, it is rightly termed legislative power.

(2) As it determines the controversies of subjects by the standard of those rules, so is it justly termed judiciary power.

(3) As it arms the subjects against foreigners or forbids hostility, so it is called the power of peace and war.

(4) As it takes in ministers for the discharge of business, so it is called the right of appointing magistrates. So that all great officers and public servants must needs owe their original to the creating power of sovereignty; so that those whose right it is to create may dissolve the being of those who are created, unless they cast them into an immortal frame, and yet must needs be dissoluble if they justly forfeit their being to their creators.

(5) The chief end of civil communities is that men thus conjoined may be secured against the injuries they are liable to from their own kind; for, if every man could secure himself singly, it would be great folly for him to renounce his natural liberty, in which every man is his own king and protector.

(6) The sovereign authority, besides that it inheres in every state as in a common and general subject, so further according as it resides in some one person, or in a council (consisting of some select persons, or of all the members of a community) as in a proper and particular subject, so it produceth different forms of commonwealths, namely, such as are either simple and regular, or mixed.

The forms of a regular state are three only, which forms arise from the proper and particular subject in which the supreme power resides. As,

1. A democracy, which is when the sovereign power is lodged in a council consisting of all the members, and where every member has the privilege of a vote. This form of government appears in the greatest part of the world to have been the most ancient. For that reason seems to show it to be most probable that, when men (being originally in a condition of natural freedom and equality) had thoughts of joining in a civil body, would without question be inclined to administer their common affairs by their

common judgment, and so must necessarily, to gratify that inclination, establish a democracy; neither can it be rationally imagined that fathers of families, being yet free and independent, should in a moment or little time take off their long delight in governing their own affairs, and devolve all upon some single sovereign commander; for that it seems to have been thought more equitable that what belonged to all should be managed by all, when all had entered by compact into one community. The original of our government, says Plato (speaking of the Athenian commonwealth), was taken from the equality of our race. Other states there are composed of different blood, and of unequal lines, the consequences of which are disproportionable sovereignty, tyrannical or oligarchical sway, under which men live in such a manner as to esteem themselves partly lords and partly slaves to each other. But we and our countrymen, being all born brethren of the same mother, do not look upon ourselves to stand under so hard a relation as that of lords and slaves; but the parity of our descent inclines us to keep up the like parity by our laws, and to yield the precedency to nothing but to superior virtue and wisdom. And, moreover, it seems very manifest that most civil communities arose at first from the union of families that were nearly allied in race and blood; and though ancient story makes frequent mention of kings, yet it appears that most of them were such that had an influence rather in persuading than in any power of commanding. So Justin describes that kind of government as the most primitive which Aristotle styles an heroical kingdom, namely, such as is noways inconsistent with a democratical state. *De Princip. Reru.* 1, l. 1, c.

A democracy is then erected, when a number of free persons do assemble together in order to enter into a covenant for uniting themselves in a body; and such a preparative assembly hath some appearance already of a democracy; it is a democracy in embryo, properly in this respect, that every man hath the privilege freely to deliver his opinion concerning the common affairs. Yet he who dissents from the vote of the majority is not in the least obliged by what they determine, till by a second covenant a popular form be actually established; for not before then can we call it a democratical government, namely, till the right of determining all matters relating to the public safety is actually placed in a general assembly of the whole people; or by their own compact and mutual agreement determine themselves the proper subject for the exercise of sovereign power. And to complete this state,

and render it capable to exert its power to answer the end of a civil state, these conditions are necessary.

(1) That a certain time and place be assigned for assembling.

(2) That when the assembly be orderly met, as to time and place, that then the vote of the majority must pass for the vote of the whole body.

(3) That magistrates be appointed to exercise the authority of the whole for the better despatch of business of every day's occurrence, who also may, with more mature diligence, search into more important affairs; and if in case any thing happens of greater consequence, may report it to the assembly, and be peculiarly serviceable in putting all public decrees into execution, because a large body of people is almost useless in respect of the last service, and of many others as to the more particular application and exercise of power. Therefore it is most agreeable with the law of nature that they institute their officers to act in their name and stead.

2. The second species of regular government is an aristocracy, and this is said then to be constituted when the people or assembly, united by a first covenant, and having thereby cast themselves into the first rudiment of a state, do then by common decree devolve the sovereign power on a council consisting of some select members; and these, having accepted of the designation, are then properly invested with sovereign command, and then an aristocracy is formed.

3. The third species of a regular government is a monarchy, which is settled when the sovereign power is conferred on some one worthy person. It differs from the former, because a monarch, who is but one person in natural as well as in moral account, and so is furnished with an immediate power of exercising sovereign command in all instances of government; but the forenamed must needs have particular time and place assigned, but the power and authority is equal in each.

Mixed governments, which are various and of divers kinds (not now to be enumerated), yet possibly the fairest in the world is that which has a regular monarchy, settled upon a noble democracy as its basis; and each part of the government is so adjusted by pacts and laws that render the whole constitution an elysium. It is said of the British empire that it is such a monarchy as that, by the necessary subordinate concurrence of the lords and commons in the making and repealing all statutes or acts of parliament, it hath the main advantages of an aristocracy and of a

democracy, and yet free from the disadvantages and evils of either. It is such a monarchy as, by most admirable temperament, affords very much to the industry, liberty, and happiness of the subject, and reserves enough for the majesty and prerogative of any king who will own his people as subjects, not as slaves. It is a kingdom that, of all the kingdoms of the world, is most like the kingdom of Jesus Christ, whose yoke is easy and burden light. (Present State of England, Part I. pp. 64.)

It is certain every species of government, simple and mixed, have their various excellences and defects; much may be said in honor of each, and also every constitution may have something wanting; at least it may seem so, under a more critical survey of its nature, principles, ill-conveniences, corrupt ministry, misfortunes, etc. And many times a government falls under scandal from distemper of mind, from false ends and corrupt interests, which sway and overrule men's thoughts relating to government more than from the constitution itself. But, however, to evade all circular discourses, we may very fairly infer, where we find nations flourishing, and their liberty and property with the rest of the great immunities of man's nature nourished, secured, and best guarded from tyranny, we may venture to pronounce this people to be the subjects of a noble government, and there be many such on earth whose constitution will serve to justify ours. I shall instance in three, and no more.

1. The Venetian commonwealth; though some are pleased to call the government of this free state an aristocracy, but it seems more properly a limited democracy, for that the seat of a sovereign power is their ancient commons, called their families, enrolled in the golden book; these make up the grand council of the nations, settle the public ministry, and enact laws, etc. This people have by this mode of government raised themselves into so august and flourishing a capacity that from a very obscure original they are grown to that degree as to bridle and curb the pride and haughtiness of Turk and Pope. This example must needs be no small honor to our constitution. But,

2. The Belgic provinces are without interruption allowed to be the subjects of a formed democracy, they in some ages past being insulted and unmercifully trampled upon by that august tyrant, the Spanish monarch, they, being his subjects, broke loose from him and set up for themselves. They assumed to themselves their original power, and, when they had got it into their hands,

had the wit and kept it, and have improved it in the form of a democracy to this day, and God has blessed them; that from the poor states of Holland, they are now grown to wear the splendid title of "their high mightinesses," and are a match for most monarchs on earth. Says Gordon of their government: "The seven provinces of Holland, being under a democratical government, are, as it were, several commonwealths, each province being a distinct state; yea, and every city having an independent power within itself to judge of all causes, whether civil or criminal, and to inflict even capital punishment; but all joining together, make one republic, the most considerable in the world."

3. The English. This nation is reputed to be the subjects of the finest and most incomparable government in the world. And this original happy form of government is (says one) truly and properly called an Englishman's liberty: a privilege to be freed in person and estate from arbitrary violence and oppression, and a greater inheritance than we derive from our parents. And this birthright of Englishmen shines most conspicuously in two things.

(1) In parliaments, wherein the subject has, by his representatives, a share in legislative power, and so makes his own laws, and disposes of his own money.

(2) In juries, whereby he has a share in the executive part of law, so that no causes are tried, nor any man adjudged to lose his life, member, or estate, but upon the verdict of his peers, his equals or neighbors, and of his own condition. These two grand pillars of English liberty are the fundamental, vital privileges whereby we have been, and are still preserved more free and happy than any other people in the world, and we trust shall ever continue so; for whoever shall design to impair, pervert, undermine either of these, do strike at the very constitution of our government, and ought to be prosecuted and punished with the utmost zeal and vigor; for to poison all the springs and rivers in the kingdom could not be a greater mischief; for this would only affect the present age, but the other would ruin and enslave all our posterity.

"A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches" was first issued in 1717, and is unquestionably the clearest and most convincing demonstration of the Congregational polity ever put forth in the same number of pages. In the Supreme Judicial Court, Baker *versus* Fales, Chief Justice Parker quoted from

this treatise in 1820, as the highest ecclesiastical authority. (Mass. Rep. vol. xvi. p. 499.) It would have left its mark on any age that could produce it. But in that age, and among a people whose susceptibilities of impression were quickened by late encroachments on popular freedom in the State, and still later on the liberties of the churches, it was like setting a seal to melted wax. Especially forcible is his argument "drawn from the light of nature." Digging down to the bottom and laying bare the foundation-stones, he shows that all human government is, and must be, originally derived from the people. "For as they have a power, every man in a natural state, so, upon a combination, they can and do bequeath this power unto others, and settle it according as their united discretion shall determine,"—which is seen in the obvious fact "that when the subject of sovereign power is quite extinct, that power returns to the people again, as to its natural source." Ranging all governments under three heads—monarchy, oligarchy, democracy—and subjecting them each to a scrutiny in the light of nature, he discovers that the last named is incomparably the best suited to the end for which human government is instituted; and looking at the Prelatic, the Presbyterian, and the Congregational, as the then corresponding forms of ecclesiastical rule, he finds the same grounds of preference for the latter. "To me," he says, "it seems most apparent that under Christ the reason of the constitution of these and the primitive churches is really and truly owing to the original state and liberty of mankind, and founded peculiarly in the light of nature," which conclusion being admitted, there is in it, he thinks, the force of a divine sanction. "It seems to me as though wise and provident nature, by the dictates of right reason, excited by the moving suggestions of humanity, and awed by the just demands of natural liberty, equality, and the principles of self-preservation, originally drew up the scheme, and then obtained the royal approbation."

This argument for the democracy of Congregational churches from the light of nature, which at that time was truly what he calls it, "an unbeaten path," was quite as available for a democracy in states,—an inference which could not have escaped the thoughtful reader of that age, nor have failed to give the public mind a bias towards the political independence which was achieved in the age following. If Thomas Jefferson confessed himself indebted to the business meetings of a church in his neighborhood—substantially Congregational in government—for his best ideas

of a democracy, much more were John Adams and his New England compatriots beholden to their ecclesiastical surroundings for the republican tendencies of their politics. Indeed, some of the most glittering sentences in the immortal Declaration of American Independence are almost literal quotations from this essay of John Wise. And it is a significant fact that in 1772, only four years before that declaration was made, a large edition of both those tracts was published by subscription in one duodecimo volume. The presumption which this fact alone suggests, that it was used as a political text-book in the great struggle for freedom then opening in earnest, is fully confirmed by the list of subscribers' names printed at the end, with the number of copies annexed. Distinguished laymen in all parts of New England, who were soon to be heralded to the world as heroes in that struggle, are on that list for six, twelve, twenty-four, thirty-six, and two of them for a hundred copies each! As the State itself, in its first organic life on these shores, was born of the church, so our republican form of government is the product of the Congregational church polity; and, of all men whom God has honored with an agency in the production, John Wise ranks among the foremost.—*Rev. Joseph S. Clark, from his introduction to the 1860 edition of John Wise's works.*

John Wise was born in Roxbury, Mass., in 1652. The exact date of his birth is lost but his baptism, which according to the prevailing custom was seldom more than eight days after, is entered "August 15, 1652." The other important dates of his life are given in the following inscription on the tablet on the massive slab of red sandstone above his grave in the old burying-ground in the town of Essex, Mass., formerly a parish of Ipswich, known by the Indian name of Chebacco:—

"Underneath lies the body of
REV. JOHN WISE, A.M.,
First Pastor of the 2d Church in Ipswich;
Graduated at Harvard College, 1673;
Ordained Pastor of said Church, 1683;
And died April 8, 1725, Aged 73.
For Talents, Piety, and Learning, he shone
As a star of the first magnitude."

Practically, his whole working life was thus passed in the little parish of Chebacco, the present Essex. He first came into public notice through leading the opposition in Ipswich, in 1687, to the illegal levy by Andros of taxes upon the towns in support of his despotic rule. John Wise eloquently opposed the choosing of an assessor for carrying the measure into effect in Ipswich. With five others he was thrown into Boston jail for this, by the governor's orders, and then fined and put under bonds to keep the peace. "The evidence in the case, as to the substance of it," said Wise in his narrative after the expulsion of Andros the next year, "was that we too boldly endeavored to persuade ourselves we were Englishmen and under privileges."

In 1710, seven years before the appearance of his "Vindication of the Government of New England Churches," John Wise published a very able pamphlet, "The Churches Quarrel Espoused," in which he strongly defended the simple congregationalism of the New England churches from the tendency, supported by Increase Mather and others, to lodge greater authority in the hands of the clergy. Wise's powerful satire achieved a quick and

complete triumph and a great fame; and yet more famous and more influential, alike in Church and State, was his "Vindication of the Government of New England Churches." The student will find them both together in the excellent edition published in 1860 by the Congregational Board of Publication, Boston, with an introduction by Rev. Joseph S. Clark, D.D., from which a brief passage is given above.

Much of interest concerning John Wise will be found in the histories of Ipswich, by Felt and Waters. See also the sections upon Wise in Dexter's "Congregationalism as seen in its Literature" and Moses Coit Tyler's "History of American Literature," ii. Says Dexter: "If you wish to study the natural rights of man, the quality of political obligation, and the relative aspects and claims of the monarchic, the aristocratic, and the democratic forms of government, both for State and Church, I know of no discussion which, for density, for clearness, for largeness of vision, for conclusiveness, and for general ability and beauty of style, approaches this little tract [the 'Vindication'] from this great Ipswich father of American democracy." Says Tyler: "Upon the whole, no other American author of the colonial time is the equal of John Wise in the union of great breadth and power of thought with great splendor of style; and he stands almost alone among our early writers for the blending of a racy and dainty humor with impassioned earnestness. . . . Perhaps even greater than the distinction he deserves for his brilliant writing is the distinction due him for the prophetic clearness, the courage, and the inapproachable ability with which, in that unfriendly time, he, almost alone among Americans, avowed his belief in civil governments founded on the idea of human equality. He was the first great American democrat."

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The Invention of Ships.

By SIR WALTER RALEIGH.



A DISCOURSE OF THE INVENTION OF SHIPS, ANCHORS, COMPASS, ETC. THE FIRST NATURAL WAR, THE SEVERAL USES, DEFECTS, AND SUPPLIES OF SHIPPING; THE STRENGTH AND DEFECTS OF THE SEA-FORCES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, AND VENICE: TOGETHER WITH THE FIVE MANIFEST CAUSES OF THE SUDDEN APPEARING OF THE HOLLANDERS.

That the ark of Noah was the first ship, because the invention of God himself, although some men have believed, yet it is certain that the world being planted before the flood the same could not be performed without some transporting vessels. It is true, and the success proves it, that there was not any so capacious, nor so strong to defend itself against so violent and so continued a pouring down of rain, as the ark of Noah, the invention of God himself; for of what fashion or fabric soever, the rest, with all mankind, perished, according to the ordinance of God. And probable it is that the anchors, whereof Ovid made mention, found on high mountains, *Et inventa est in montibus anchora summis*, were remaining of ships wrecked at the general flood.

After the flood, it is said that Minos, who lived two descents before the war of Troy, sent out ships to free the Grecian seas of pirates; which shews that there had been either trade or war upon the waters before his time also.

The expedition of the Argonauts was after Minos; and so was the plantation of Tyrene in Africa, by Battus, who was one of Jason's companions; and that the Tyrians had trade by sea before the war of Troy, Homer tells us.

Others give the first dominion upon the waters to Neptune, who, for the great exploits he did in the service of Saturn, was, by after ages, called the god of the seas. But the Corinthians ascribe the invention of rowing vessels to a citizen of their own called Amenocles; and that the first naval war was made between the Samians and Corcyrians.

Ithicus's History, changed into Latin by St. Hierome, affirms that Griphon the Scythian was the inventor of long boats, or galleys, in the northern seas; and Strabo gives the invention of the anchor with two hooks to the Scythian Anacharsis, but the Greeks to Eupolemus.

It is also said that Icarus invented the sail, and others other pieces and parts of the ships and boats, whereof the certain knowledge is of no great moment. This is certain, that the sons and nephews of Noah, who peopled the isles of the Gentiles, and gave their own names to many of them, had vessels to transport themselves long before the days of Minos; and, for my own opinion, I do not think that any one nation (the Syrians excepted, to whom the knowledge of the ark came, as the story of the creation did soon after Moses) did find out, at once, the device either of ship or boat in which they durst venture themselves upon the seas: but being forced by necessity to pass over rivers or lakes, they first bound together certain reeds or canes, by which they transported themselves. *Calamorum falces*, saith D. Siculus, *admodum ingentes inter se conjungunt*.

Others made rafts of wood, and other devised the boat of one tree called the canoe, which the Gauls upon the river of Roan used in assisting the transportation of Hannibal's army, in his enterprise of Italy. *Primum Galli inchoantes cavabant arbores*, saith Livy; but Polydor Virgil gives the invention of those canoes to the Germans inhabiting about the river of Danubius, which kind of hollow trees Isidor calls carabes.

The Britains had boats made of willow twigs, and covered on the outside with bullock-hides, and so had the Venetians; of which Lucan, *Primum cana salix, &c. malefacto, &c.*; and Julius Solinus, *Navigant autem Vimineis alveis quos circumdant ambitione tergorum bubalorum*. The same kind of boats had the Germans, saith Isidor, who in his time committed many robberies in them. But whosoever devised the canoe among the Danubians, or among the Gauls, sure I am that the Indians of America never had any trade with either of these nations; and yet from Fro-bisher's straits to the straits of Magellan those boats are found,

and in some parts of that length, as I have seen them rowed with twenty oars of a side.

The truth is that all nations, how remote soever, being all reasonable creatures, and enjoying one and the same imagination and fantasy, have devised, according to their means and materials, the same things.

The eastern people, who have had from all antiquity the use of iron, have found out the saw, and with the saw they have sundered trees in boards and planks, and have joined them together with nails, and so made boats and galleys safe and portable; so have they built cities and towns of timber, and the like in all else.

On the contrary, the West Indies, and many nations of the Africans, wanting means and materials, have been taught by their own necessities to pass rivers in a boat of one tree, and to tie unsquared poles together on the top for their houses, which they cover with large leaves; yea, the same boats and the same buildings are found in countries two thousand miles distant, debarred from all commerce by unpassable mountains, lakes, and deserts. Nature hath taught them all to choose kings and captains for their leaders and judges. They all have lighted on the invention of bows and arrows; all have targets and wooden swords, all have instruments to encourage them to fight, all that have corn beat it in mortars and make cakes, baking them upon slate-stones; all devised laws without any grounds had from the scriptures or from Aristotle's Politick, whereby they are governed; all that dwell near enemies impale their villages, to save themselves from surprise. Yea, besides the same inventions, all have the same natural impulsions; they follow nature in the choice of many wives; and there are everywhere among them which, out of a kind of wolfish ferocity, eat man's flesh; yea, most of them believe in a second life, and they are all of them idolaters in one kind or other.

For the northern parts of the world, it was long ere they grew to any perfection in shipping; for we read that Hengist and Horsa came over into this land in long boats, in which for the first time, being called in by the Britains, they transported five thousand soldiers; and that after they came with a supply of ten thousand more, shipped in thirty vessels, which the Saxons call keels, and our old historians cogions. And in Cæsar's time the French Britains, who were then esteemed the best seamen, had very untoward tubs, in which they made war against him: for they took

the winds in sails of leather, heavy and unpliant, and they fasten their ships to the ground, and ride at anchor with cables of iron chains, having neither canvas nor cordage; insomuch as the best of them, which were Vannes, are described with high heads raised up deformedly above the rest of the buildings; to which kind of form that they were constrained, the reason is manifest; for, had their cables of iron chains held any great length, they had been unportable, and, being short, the ships must have sunk at an anchor in any storm of weather or counter-tide. And such was their simplicity in those days, as instead of accommodating their furniture to their ships, they formed their ships to their furniture; not unlike the courtiers of this age, who fit their bodies and their feet to their doublets and shoes, and not their doublets and shoes to their bodies and feet.

The Pomerlanders inhabiting the south part of the Baltic or eastland sea used a kind of boat with the prow at both ends, so as they need not wend or hold water, but went on and returned indifferently; of which Tacitus, *Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in oceano, præter viros armaque classibus valent; forma novium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit: nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt. Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium.* "Next are the cities of the Suiones, which are mighty at sea, not only in men and arms, but in fleets. The form of their vessels differs in this, that a prow at each end enables them to row forward either way alike; neither use they sails, nor place their oars in order upon the sides, but carrying the oar loose, they shift it hither and thither at pleasure, as is the manner in some rivers." Yea, at this time both the Turks and Christians use these kind of boats upon the river of Danubius, and call them *nacerne*.

True it is that before Cæsar's invading of this land we do find that the Britains had not any shipping at all, other than their boats of twigs covered with hides as aforesaid.

The Saxons, when they were drawn in by the Britains, came hither by sea; and after that time, finding that without shipping they could neither defend themselves nor exercise any trade, they began to make some provision for a navy, such as it was, which being first considered of by Egbert, Alfred, Edgar, and Etheldred augmented it: and how true it is, I know not, but it is written of Edgar that he increased the fleet he found to two thousand six hundred sail. After whom Etheldred made a law, that whoso-

ever was lord of three hundred and ten hide of land should build and furnish one ship for the defence of their country.

Notwithstanding all these provisions the Danes invaded them, and, having better ships than they had, made their way for a new conquest.

The Normans grew better shipwrights than either of both, and made the last conquest of this land; a land which can never be conquered whilst the kings thereof keep the dominion of the seas; which dominion I do not find that it was ever absolute till the time of Henry the Eighth; but that we fought sometimes with good, sometimes with ill success, as we shall shew hereafter more particularly.

But omitting the dispute of the first navigators, certain it is that the invention of the compass was had from our northern nations, were it from the Germans, Norwegians, Britains, or Danes; for even to this day the old northern words are used for the division of winds upon the quarter of the compass, not only by the Danes, Germans, Swedes, Britains, and all in the ocean that understand the terms and names of the winds in their own language; but the French and Spanish call the sunrising winds east, and the sunsetting winds west, the rest north and south; and so, by the same terms, in all the divisions of south-east, north-east, south-west, north-west, and the rest.

And if we compare the marvellous great transportations of people by the Saxons, Angles, Danes, Goths, Swedes, Norwegians especially, and others; and how many fleets for supplies have been set out by them; with the swarms of Danes, as well in our seas as when they invaded and conquered Sicily, together with the colonies planted by the Tyrians in Africa as elsewhere, and of the Carthaginians, the sons of the Tyrians in Spain,—it is hard to judge which of these nations have most commanded the seas, though, for priority, Tibullus and Ovid give it the Tyrians;

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros

And Ovid,

*Magna minorque feræ; quarum regis altera Graias,
Alter a Sidonias, utraque sicca, rates.*

And it is true that the first good ships were among the Tyrians, and they had good and great ships not long after the war of Troy;

and in Solomon's time they were of that account, as Solomon invited Hiram king of Tyre to join with him in his journey into the East Indies; for the Israelites, till then, never traded by sea, and seldom, if ever, after it; and that the Tyrians were the chief in that enterprise it appears in that they were called *nautas peritos maris*; in the Hebrew, saith Junius, *homines navium*; and in our English, *mariners*.

It is also written in the second of Chronicles, the eighth, that Hiram sent Solomon ships, *et servos peritos maris*, "and servants skilful of the sea"; whereby it is probable that the Tyrians had used the trade of East India before the days of Solomon or before the reign of David, when themselves commanded the ports of the Red sea. But the Edumæans being beaten by David, and the port of Ezion-geber now subject to Solomon, the Tyrians were forced to make Solomon the chief of that expedition, and to join with him in the enterprise; for the Tyrians had no pass to the Red sea but through the territory of Solomon, and by his sufferance.

Whosoever were the inventors, we find that every age had added somewhat to ships and to all things else; and in my own time the shape of our English ships hath been greatly bettered. It is not long since the striking of the topmast (a wonderful ease to great ships, both at sea and harbor) hath been devised, together with the chain-pump, which takes up twice as much water as the ordinary did; we have lately added the bonnet and the drabler. To the courses we have devised studding-sails, top-gallant-sails, sprit-sails, top-sails; the weighing of anchors by the capstan is also new. We have fallen into consideration of the length of cables, and by it we resist the malice of the greatest winds that can blow; witness our small Milbrook men of Cornwall, that rid it out at anchor, half-seas over between England and Ireland, all the winter quarter; and witness the Hollanders, that were wont to ride before Dunkirk with the wind at north-west, making a lee-shore in all weathers; for true it is that the length of the cable is the life of the ship in all extremities; and the reason is because it makes so many bendings and waves, as the ship riding at that length is not able to stretch it, and nothing breaks that is not stretched. In extremity we carry our ordnance better than we were wont, because our nether overloops are raised commonly from the water, to wit, between the lower part of the port and the sea.

In King Henry the Eighth's time, and in his presence, at Ports-

mouth, the Mary Rose by a little sway of the ship in casting about, her ports being within sixteen inches of the water, was overset and lost, and in her that worthy knight, Sir George Carew, cousin-german to the Lord Carew, and with him (besides many other gentlemen) the father of the late renowned Sir Richard Greenvil.

We have also raised our second decks, and given more vent thereby to our ordnance, tying on our nether overloop.

We have added cross pillars in our royal ships to strengthen them, which, being fastened from the kelson to the beams of the second deck, keep them from settling, or from giving way in all distresses.

We have given longer floors to our ships than in elder times, and better bearing under water, whereby they never fall into the sea, alter the head, and shake the whole body, nor sink astern, nor stoop upon a wind, by which the breaking loose of our ordnance or the not use of them, with many other discommodities, are avoided.

And, to say the truth, a miserable shame and dishonor it were for our shipwrights, if they did not exceed all other in the setting up of our royal ships, the errors of other nations being far more excusable than ours. For the kings of England have for many years been at the charge to build and furnish a navy of powerful ships for their own defence, and for the wars only; whereas the French, the Spaniards, and Portugals and the Hollanders (till of late) have had no proper fleet belonging to their princes or states. Only the Venetians for a long time have maintained their arsenal of galleys, and the kings of Denmark and Sweden have had good ships for these last fifty years; I say, that the fore-named kings, especially the Spaniards and Portugals, have ships of great bulk, but fitter for the merchant than for the man of war, for burden than for battle. But as Popelimire well observeth, the forces of princes by sea are *marques de grandeur d'estat*, "are marks of the greatness of an estate," for whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself. Yet can I not deny but that the Spaniards, being afraid of their Indian fleets, have built some few very good ships, but he hath no ships in garrison as his majesty hath, and, to say the truth, no sure place to keep them in; but in all invasions he is driven to take up of all nations which comes into his ports for trade.

The Venetians, while they attended their fleets and employed

themselves in their eastern conquest, were great and powerful princes, and commanded the maritime parts of Croatia, Dalmatia, Albania, and Epirus; were lords of Peloponnesus, and the islands adjoining, of Cyprus, Pandia, and many other places; but after they sought to greaten themselves in Italy itself, using strangers for the commanders of their armies, the Turks, by degrees, beat them out of all their goodly countries, and have now confined them (Candia excepted) to a few small Grecian islands, which with great difficulty they enjoy.

The first honor they obtained was by making war upon the Istrii by sea; and had they been true to their spouse, to wit, the seas, which once a year they marry, the Turks had never prevailed against them, nor ever been able to besiege any place of theirs to which he must have transported his armies by his galleys.

The Genoese were also exceeding powerful by sea, and held many places in the east, and contended often with the Venetians for superiority, destroying each other in a long-continued sea war. Yea, the Genoese were the most famous mercenaries of all Europe, both by sea and land, for many years.

The French assisted themselves by land with the cross-bowers of Genoa against the English; namely, at the battle of Cressy the French had twelve thousand cross-bowers, Genoese. By sea, with their great ships called the caracks of Genoa, they always strengthened their fleets against the English; but after Mahomet the Second had taken Constantinople, they lost Caffa and all Taurica, Chersonesus, with the whole trade of the Euxine sea; and although they sent many supplies by the Hellespont, yet having often felt the smart of the Turk's cannon, they began to slack their succors, and were soon after supplanted. Yet do the Venetians to this day well maintain their estate by their sea forces; and a great loss it is to the Christian commonweal in general that they are less than they were; and a precipitate counsel it was of those Christian kings their neighbors, when they joined in league against them, seeing they then were, and they yet are, the strongest rampires of Europe against the Turks.

But the Genoese have now but a few galleys, being altogether degenerate, and become merchants of money, and the Spanish king's bankers. But all the states and kingdoms of the world have changed form and policy.

The empire itself, which gave light to principalities like a pharos, or high tower, to seamen, is now sunk down to the level of the soil. The greatness which it gave to the church of Rome,

as before proved, was it which made itself little in haste; and therefore truly said, *Imperium amore religionis seipsum exhausisse*. The empire being also elective, and not successive, the emperors in being made profit of their own times, and sold from the empire many seigniories depending on it, and at so easy a rate, as Lucca freed itself for ten thousand crowns, and Florence for six thousand crowns; the rest the popes, then the Hanses, and lastly the Turks, have in effect ruined. And in which several inundations, many pieces have been recovered by other princes and states; as Basil, Zuric, and Berne, by the Switzers; (omitting many others) Metz, Thoul, Verdun, by the French; Groign, Aix-la-Chapelle, Zutphen, Deventer, Nimeguen in Guelderland, Wesel, Antwerp, and many other places by the Spaniards and by the States; Dantzic, and other towns of importance, by the Polacs: insomuch as it is now become the most confused estate of the world, consisting of an emperor in title without territory, who can ordain nothing of importance, but by a diet or assembly of the estates of many free princes, ecclesiastical and temporal; in effect, of equal force, diverse in religion and faction, and of free cities and Hanse Towns, whom the princes do not more desire to command than they scorn to obey. Notwithstanding, being by far less than they were in number, and less in force and reputation, as they are not greatly able to offend others, so have they enough to do (being seated far asunder) to defend themselves; of whom hereafter more particularly.

The Castilians in the mean while are grown great, and by mistaking esteemed the greatest, having by marriage, conquest, practice,* and purchase devoured all kingdoms within Spain, with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and the Netherlands, and many places belonging to the empire and the princes thereof; besides the Indies East and West, the islands of the west ocean, and many places in Barbary, Guinea, Congo, and elsewhere.

France hath also enlarged itself by the one-half, and reduced Normandy, Britain, and Aquitain, with all that the English had on that side the sea, together with Languedoc, Foix, Armignac, Berne, and Dauphiny.

For this kingdom of Great Britain, it hath had by his majesty a strong addition; the postern by which we were so often heretofore entered and surprised is now made up, and we shall not hereafter need the double face of Janus, to look north and south at once.

* *Practice* was in this age used for *treachery*.

But there is no state grown in haste but that of the United Provinces, and especially in their sea-forces, and by a contrary way to that of France or Spain, the latter by invasion, the former by oppression; for I myself may remember when one ship of her majesty's would have made forty Hollanders strike sail, and to come to anchor. They did not then dispute *de mari libero*, but readily acknowledged the English to be *domini maris Britannici*. That we are less powerful than we were, I do hardly believe it; for although we have not at this time one hundred and thirty-five ships belonging to the subjects, of five hundred tons each ship, as it is said we had in the twenty-fourth year of Queen Elizabeth; at which time also, upon a general view and muster, there were found in England, of all men fit to bear arms, eleven hundred and seventy-two thousand, yet are our merchants' ships now far more warlike and better appointed than they were, and the navy royal double as strong as then it was: for these were the ships of her majesty's navy at that time:—

1. The Triumph.
2. The Eliz. Jonas.
3. The White Bear.
4. The Philip and Mary.
5. The Bonaventure.
6. The Golden Lion.
7. The Victory.
8. The Revenge.
9. The Hope.
10. The Mary Rose.
11. The Dreadnaught.
12. The Minion.
13. The Swiftsure.

To which there hath been added:

14. The Antelope.
15. The Foresight.
16. The Swallow
17. The Handmaid.
18. The Gennet.
19. The Bark of Bullen.
20. The Aid.
21. The Achates.
22. The Falcon.
23. The Tiger.
24. The Bull.

We have not, therefore, less force than we had, the fashion and furnishing of our ships considered: for there are in England, at this time, four hundred sail of merchants fit for the wars, which the Spaniards would call galleons; to which we may add two hundred sail of crumsters, or hoys, of Newcastle, which each of them will bear six demi-culverins and four sakers, needing no other addition of building than a slight spar deck fore and aft, as the seamen call it, which is a slight deck throughout. These two hundred, which may be chosen out of four hundred, by reason of their ready staying and turning, by reason of their windward-

ness, and by reason of their drawing of little water; and they are of extreme vantage near the shore, and in all bays and rivers, to turn in and out; these, I say, alone, well manned and well conducted, would trouble the greatest prince of Europe to encounter in our seas; for they stay and turn so readily as, ordering them into small squadrons, three of them at once may give their broadsides upon any one great ship, or upon any angle or side of an enemy's fleet; they shall be able to continue a perpetual volley of demi-culverins without intermission, and either sink or slaughter the men, or utterly disorder any fleet of cross sails with which they encounter.

I say, then, if a vanguard be ordained of these hoys, who will easily recover the wind of any other ships, with a battle of four hundred other warlike ships, and a rear of thirty of his majesty's ships to sustain, relieve, and countenance the rest (if God beat them not), I know not what strength can be gathered in all Europe to beat them. And if it be objected that the States can furnish a far greater number, I answer that his majesty's forty ships, added to six hundred before named, are of incomparably greater force than all that Holland and Zealand can furnish for the wars. As also that a greater number would breed the same confusion that was found in Xerxes' land army of seventeen hundred thousand soldiers; for there is a certain proportion both by sea and land, beyond which the excess brings nothing but disorders and amazement.

Of those hoys, carvils, or crumsters, call them what you will, there was a notable experience made in the year 1574, in the river of Antwerp, near Romerswael, where the admiral Boyset, with his crumsters, overthrew the Spanish fleet of great ships conducted by Julian Romero; so contrary to the expectation of Don Lewis, the great commander and lieutenant of the Netherlands for the king of Spain, as he came to the banks of Bergen to behold the slaughter of the Zealanders; but, contrary to his expectation, he beheld his armado, some of them sunk, some of them thrust on the shore, and most of the rest mastered and possessed by his enemies; insomuch as his great captain Romero, with great difficulty, some say in a skiff, some say by swimming, saved himself.

The like success had Captain Werst of Zealand against the fleet which transported the Duke of Medini Coeli, who was sent out of Spain by sea to govern the Netherlands in place of the Duke of Alva; for with twelve crumsters or hoys, of the first troop of twenty-one sail he took all but three, and he forced the second

(being twelve great ships filled with two thousand soldiers) to run under the Ramakins, being then in the Spaniard's possession.

But whence comes this dispute? Not from the increase of numbers, not because our neighbors breed more mariners than we do, nor from the greatness of their trade in all parts of the world; for the French creep into all corners of America and Africa, as they do; and the Spaniards and Portugals employ more ships by many (fishing trades excepted) than the Netherlands do: but it comes from the detestable covetousness of such particular persons as have gotten licenses, and given way to the transporting of the English ordnance;

. . . *Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis.*

And that in so great abundance as that not only our good friends the Hollanders and Zealanders have furnished themselves, and have them lying on their wharfs to sell to others, but all other nations have had from us, not only to furnish their fleets, but to garnish all their forts and other places, fortifying their coasts; without which the Spanish king durst not have dismounted so many pieces of brass in Naples and elsewhere, therewith to arm his great fleet in 88. But it was directly proved in the lower house of parliament, anno of Queen Elizabeth, that there were landed in Naples above one hundred and forty culverins English; since which time also, and not long since, it is lamentable that so many have been transported into Spain. But those that belike then determined it, and the transporters, have now forsaken the country; and though the procurers remain, I am resolved that they also have forsaken the care of his majesty's estate, and the honor of this nation. I urge not this point as thinking it unfit to furnish his majesty's good friends and allies, who have had with us one common enemy for many years, but all politic estates have well observed this precept, *Ut sit tractarent amicum, tanquam inimicum futurum*: for what are all the ships in the world to be valued at, other than a company of floating tubs, were they not furnished with ordnance, either to offend others or defend themselves? If a ship of a thousand tons had in her a thousand musketeers, and never a great gun, with one crumster, carrying ten or thirteen culverins, she may be beaten to pieces, and her men slaughtered. Certainly the advantage which the English had by their bows and arrows in former times was never so great as we

might now have had by our iron ordnance, if we had either kept it within the land, kept it from our enemies, or imparted it to our friends moderately; for as by the former we obtained many notable victories, and made ourselves masters of many parts of France, so by the latter we might have commanded the seas, and thereby the trade of the world itself. But we have now, to our future prejudice, and how far to our prejudice I know not, forged hammers, and delivered them out of our hands, to break our own bones withal.

For the conclusion of this dispute there are five manifest causes of the upgrowing of the Hollanders and Zealanders:

1. The first is the favor and assistance of Queen Elizabeth, and the king's majesty, which the late worthy and famous Prince of Orange did always acknowledge: and in the year 1582, when I took my leave of him at Antwerp, after the return of the Earl of Leicester into England, and Monsieur's arrival there, when he delivered me his letters to her majesty, he prayed me to say to the queen from him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegemur*; for certainly they had withered in the bud, and sunk in the beginning of their navigation, had not her majesty assisted them.

2. The second cause was the employing of their own people in their trades and fishings, and the entertaining of strangers to serve them in their armies by land.

3. The third is the fidelity of the house of Nassau, and their services done them, especially of that renowned Prince Maurice, now living.

4. The fourth, the withdrawing of the Duke of Parma twice into France, while in his absence he recovered those strong places of Zealand and Frizeland, as Deventer, Zutphen, &c.

5. And the fifth, the embarging and confiscating of their ships in Spain, which constrained them, and gave them courage to trade by force into the East and West Indies, and in Africa, in which they employ one hundred and eighty ships, and eight thousand seven hundred mariners. The success of a counsel so contrary to their wisdom that gave it as all the wit, and all the force the Spaniards have, will hardly, if ever, recover the damage thereby received.

For to repair that ruin of the Hollanders' trade into both Indies the Spaniards did not only labor the truce, but the king was content to quit the sovereignty of the United Provinces, and to acknowledge them for free states, neither holding nor depending on the crown of Spain. But be their estates what it will, let not

them deceive themselves in believing that they can make themselves masters of the sea; for certainly the shipping of England, with the great squadron of his majesty's navy royal, are able, in despite of any prince or state in Europe, to command the great and large field of the ocean. But as I shall never think him a lover of this land or of the king that shall persuade his majesty from embracing the amity of the states of the United Provinces (for his majesty is no less safe by them than they invincible by him), so I would wish them (because after my duty to mine own sovereign, and the love of my country, I honor them most) that they remember and consider it, seeing that their passage and re-passage lies through the British seas; that there is no port in France, from Calais to Flushing, that can receive their ships; that many times outward by westerly winds, and ordinarily home-wards, not only from the East Indies, but from the straits, and from Spain, all southerly winds (the breezes of our climate) thrust them of necessity into the king's ports, how much his majesty's favor doth concern them. For if (as themselves confess in their last treaty of truce with the Spaniards) they subsist by their trades, the disturbance of their trades (which England can only disturb) will also disturb their subsistence. The rest I will omit, because I can never doubt either their gratitudes or their wisdoms. For our Newcastle trade (from which I have digressed) I refer the reader to the author of the Trade's Increase, a gentleman to me unknown; but so far as I can judge, he hath many things very considerable in that short treatise of his, yea, both considerable and praiseworthy; and among the rest, the advice which he hath given for the maintenance of our hoys and carvils of Newcastle, which may serve us, besides the breeding of mariners, for good ships of war, and of exceeding advantage. And certainly I cannot but admire why the impositions of five shillings should any way dishearten them, seeing there is but one company in England upon whose trade any new payments are laid, but that they on whom it is laid raise profit by it. The silkmen, if they pay his majesty twelvepence upon a yard of satin, they not only raise that twelvepence, but they impose twelvepence or two shillings more upon the subject; so do they upon all they sell of what kind soever, as all other retailers do, of what quality or profession soever: and seeing all the maritime provinces of France and Flanders, all Holland and Zealand, Embden and Bremen, &c. cannot want our Newcastle or our Welsh coals, the imposition cannot impoverish the transporter, but that the buyer must make payment

accordingly: and if the impositions laid on these things, whereof this kingdom hath no necessary use, as upon silks, velvets, gold and silver lace, and cloaths of gold and silver, cut-works, cambrics, and a world of other trumperies, doth in nothing hinder their vent here, but that they are more used than ever they were, to the utter impoverishing of the land in general, and of those poppinjays that value themselves by their outsides and by their players' coats; certainly the imposing upon coals, which other nations cannot want, can be no hindrance at all to the Newcastlemen, but that they may raise it again upon the French and other nations, as those nations themselves do which fetch them from us with their own shipping.

For conclusion of this chapter, I say that it is exceeding lamentable, that for any respect in the world, seeing the preservation of the State and monarchy doth surmount all other respects, that strangers should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and importing both our own commodities and those of foreign nations: for it is no wonder we are overtopped in all the trades we have abroad, and far off, seeing we have the grass cut from under our feet in our fields and pastures.

Raleigh is among the most dazzling personalities in English history, and the most enigmatical. Not an action ascribed to him, not a plan he is reputed to have conceived, not a date in his career, but is a matter of controversy. Posterity and his contemporaries have equally been unable to agree on his virtues and his vices, the nature of his motives, the spelling of his name and the amount of his genius. No man was ever less reticent about himself; and his confessions and apologies deepen the confusions. He had a poet's inspiration; and his title to most of the verses ascribed to him is contested. He was one of the creators of modern English prose; and his disquisitions have for two centuries ceased to be read. He and Bacon are coupled by Dugald Stewart as eminent beyond their age for their emancipation from the fetters of the Schoolmen, their originality, and the enlargement of their scientific conceptions; and a single phrase, "the fundamental laws of human knowledge," is the only philosophical idea connected with him. His name is entered, rightly, in the first rank of discoverers, navigators, and planters, on account of two countries which he neither found nor permanently colonized. He was a great admiral, who commanded in chief on one expedition alone, and that miserably failed. He had in him the making of a great soldier, though his exploits are lost in the dreary darkness of intestine French and Irish savageries. He was a master of policy, and his loftiest office was that of Captain of the Guard. None could be kinder, or more chivalrously generous, and he practised with complacency in Munster treachery and cruelty which he abhorred in a Spaniard of Trinidad. He had the subtlest brain, and became the yoke-fellow of a Cobham. He thirsted after Court favor, and wealth, and died attainted and landless.

He longed to scour the world for adventures, and spent a fourth part of his manhood in a jail. He laid the foundation of a married life characterized by an unbroken tenor of romantic trust and devotion, by doing his wife the worst injury a woman can undergo. The star of his hopes was the future of his elder son, and the boy squandered his life on an idle skirmish. He courted admiration, and, till he was buried in prison or the grave, was the best hated man in the kingdom.

Had he been less vivacious and many-sided, he might have succeeded better, suffered less, and accomplished more. With qualities less shining he would have escaped the trammels of Court favoritism, and its stains. With powers less various he would have been content to be illustrious in one line. As a poet he might have rivalled instead of patronizing Spenser. In prose he might have surpassed the thoughtful majesty of Hooker. As an observer of nature he might have disputed the palm with Bacon. He must have been recognized as endowed with the specific gifts of a statesman or a general, if he had possessed none others as remarkable. But, if less various, he would have been less attractive. If he had shone without a cloud in any one direction, he would not have pervaded a period with the splendor of his nature, and become its type. More smoothness in his fortunes would have shorn them of their tragic picturesqueness. Failure itself was needed to color all with the tints which surprise and captivate. He was not a martyr to forgive his persecutors. He was not a hero to endure in silence and without an effort at escape. His character had many earthy streaks. His self-love was enormous. He could be shifty, wheedling, whining. His extraordinary and indomitable perseverance in the pursuit of ends was crossed with a strange restlessness and recklessness in the choice of means. His projects often ended in reverses and disappointments. Yet, with all the shortcomings, no figure, no life, gathers up in itself more completely the whole spirit of an epoch; none more firmly enchains admiration for invincible individuality, or ends by winning a more personal tenderness and affection.

—*From Stebbing's Biography of Sir Walter Raleigh.*

It was Sir Walter Raleigh who first had the great vision of America as "an English nation," and who did the most in that early time to lay the foundations of English power in America. Barlowe's account of the first voyage to Roanoke, in 1784, under Raleigh's auspices, is given in Old South Leaflet No. 92; and Ralph Lane's account of the early days of the Roanoke Colony, planted the next year, in Leaflet 119. The student is referred to these and the historical notes accompanying them for information concerning Raleigh's work in American colonization, as well as to the selection from Hakluyt's "Discourse concerning Western Planting," in Leaflet 122, which doubtless greatly influenced Raleigh. See also William Wirt Henry's valuable chapter upon Raleigh's efforts in this field, in the Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iii.

The biographies of Raleigh are innumerable. The most important of the early ones is that by Oldys. The best modern lives are those by Edwards and Stebbing. Gardiner's account of Raleigh's later public life, in his History of England, is of great importance. The thorough article in the Dictionary of National Biography is the joint work of Professor J. K. Laughton and Sidney Lee. This gives a careful analysis of Raleigh's writings; and to this subject two chapters are devoted in Stebbing's biography. Raleigh's writings in the Oxford edition of 1829 fill seven large volumes. Six of these are devoted to his History of the World, the seventh to his political and miscellaneous essays, letters, and poems. The essay selected for publication in the present leaflet well illustrates those interests of Raleigh in commerce and navigation which were so organically related to his passion for the English colonization of America.

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The Settlement of Jamestown.

By CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH
AND OTHERS.

FROM SMITH'S GENERAL HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

It might well be thought, a Countrie so faire (as *Virginia* is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this haue bene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement; this following Treatise shall giue satisfaction to all indifferent Readers, how the businesse hath bin carried: where no doubt they will easily vnderstand and answer to their question, how it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings.

Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Captaine *Iohn Smith*, Master *Edward-maria Wingfield*, Master *Robert Hunt*, and divers others, who depended a yeare vpon his proiects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industrie, it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Marchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patents, gaue commission for establishing Councels, to direct here; and to governe, and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tuns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Christopher Newport*, a Marriner well practised for the Westernne parts of *America*. But their

orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arrived in *Virginia*.

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set sayle from Blackwall, but by vnprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of *England*; all which time, Master *Hunt* our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes whose disasterous designes (could they haue pre-vailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontentes did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention.

We watered at the Canaries, we traded with the Salvages at *Dominica*; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selues amongst these west-India Isles; in *Gwardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boyled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Isle called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare two hogsheads full of Birds in three or foure houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time; where, with a lothsome beast like a Crocodil, called a Gwayn, Tortoises, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted.

Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Marriners had 3 dayes passed their reckoning and found no land; so that Captaine *Ratliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for *England*, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to hull all night, did driue them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations; for never any of them had seene that coast.

The first land they made they called *Cape Henry*; where thirtie of them recreating themselues on shore, were assaulted by fiue Salvages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously.

That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, *Iohn Smith*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *Iohn Ratliffe*, *Iohn Martin*, and *George Ken-*

dall, were named to be the Councill, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councill should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Iury, but determined by the maior part of the Councill, in which the President had two voyces.

Vntill the 13 of May they sought a place to plant in; then the Councill was sworne, Master *Wingfield* was chosen President, and an Oration made, why Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councill as the rest.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councill contriue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clappbord to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited vs kindly. The Presidents overweening iealousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine *Kendall*.

Newport, *Smith*, and twentie others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six dayes they arrived at a Towne called *Powhatan*, consisting of some twelue houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile Iles, about it many of their cornefields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called *Powhatan*, and his people *Powhatans*. To this place the river is navigable: but higher within a myle, by reason of the Rockes and Isles, there is not passage for a small Boat, this they call the Falles. The people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie myles of *Iames* towne, they gaue iust cause of iealousie: but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise than those at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages, and had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from the Ships strooke downe a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all beene slaine, being securely all at worke, and their armes in dry fats.

Herevpon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised: for many were the assaults, and ambuscadoes of the Salvages, and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped.

What toyle we had, with so small a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c, I referre to the Readers consideration.

Six weekes being spent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired onely for our transportation) was to returne with the ships.

Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner vpon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to vsurpe the government, murther the Councill, and make himselfe King, that his confederats were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederats that revealed it, would affirme it; for this he was committed as a prisoner.

Thirteene weekes he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should returne they pretended out of their commiserations, to referre him to the Councill in *England* to receiue a check, rather then by particulating his designes make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrow his reputation. But he so much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie; he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppress their envies; yet so well he demeaned himselfe in this businesse, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many vntruthes were alledged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company against such vniust Commanders, that the President was adiudged to giue him 200*l.*; so that all he had was seized vpon, in part of satisfaction, which *Smith* presently returned to the Store for the generall vse of the *Colony*.

Many were the mischiefes that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Master *Hunt* reconciled them, and caused Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Councill.

The next day all receiued the Communion, the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine *Newport* returned for *England* with newes; leaving in *Virginia* 100. the 15 of Iune 1607. By this obserue;

*Good men did ne'r their Countries ruine bring.
 But when evill men shall iniuries beginne;
 Not caring to corrupt and violate
 The iudgements-seats for their owne Lucr's sake:
 Then looke that Country cannot long haue peace,
 Though for the present it haue rest and ease.*

The names of them that were the first Planters, were these following.

Councel.

Master *Edward Maria*
Wingfield.
 Captaine *Bartholomew*
Gosnoll.

Captaine *Iohn Smith.*
 Captaine *Iohn Ratliffe.*
 Captaine *Iohn Martin.*
 Captaine *George Kendall.*

Gent.

Master *Robert Hunt*
 Preacher.
 Master *George Percie.*
Anthony Gosnoll.
George Flower.
 Cap. *Gabriell Archer.*
Robert Fenton.
Robert Ford.
William Bruster.
Edward Harrington.
Dru Pickhouse.
Thomas Iacob.
Iohn Brookes.
Ellis Kingston.
Thomas Sands.
Beniamin Beast.
Iehu Robinson.
Thomas Mouton.
Eustace Clovill.
Stephen Halthrop.
Kellam Throgmorton.
Edward Morish.
Nathaniell Powell.
Edward Browne.

Robert Behethland.
Iohn Penington.
Ieremy Alicock.
George Walker.
Thomas Studley.
Richard Crofts.
Nicholas Houlgraue.
Thomas Webbe.
Iohn Waller.
Iohn Short.
William Tankard.
William Smethes.
Francis Snarsbrough.
Richard Simons.
Edward Brookes.
Richard Dixon.
Iohn Martin.
Roger Cooke.
Anthony Gosnold.
Tho: Wotton, Chirurg.
Iohn Stevenson.
Thomas Gore.
Henry Adling.
Francis Midwinter.

Richard Frith.

Carpenters.

William Laxon.
Edward Pising.

Thomas Emry.
Robert Small.

Labourers.

Iohn Laydon.
William Cassen.
George Cassen.
Thomas Cassen.
William Rodes.
William White.

Old Edward.
Henry Tavin.
George Goulding.
Iohn Dods.
William Iohnson.
William Vnger.

Iam: Read, Blacksmith.
Ionas Profit, Sailer.
Tho: Cowper, Barber.
Will: Garret, Bricklayer.
Edward Brinto, Mason.
William Loue, Taylor.
Nic: Scot, Drum.

Wil: Wilkinson, Chirurg.

Samuell Collier, boy.
Nat. Pecoock, boy.
Iames Brumfield, boy.
Richard Mutton, boy.

With divers others to the number of 100.

Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortun'd that within ten dayes scarce ten amongst vs could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed vs. And thereat none need marvaile, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this.

Whilst the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of Bisket, which the sailers would pilfer to sell, giue, or exchange with vs, for money, Saxefras, furies, or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere house, nor place of reliefe, but the common Kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunkennesse, we might haue beene canonized for Saints; But our President would never haue beene admitted, for ingrossing to his private, Oatmeale, Sacke, Oyle, *Aquavitæ*, Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the Kettell; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pint of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26. weekes in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that we might truely call it rather so

much bran than corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings Castles in the ayre.

With this lodging and dyet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes, so strained and bruised vs, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heat had so weakned vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our native Countrey, or any other place in the world.

From May, to September, those that escaped, liued vpon Sturgeon, and Sea-crabs, fiftie in this time we buried, the rest seeing the Presidents proiects to escape these miseries in our Pinnacle by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sicknes) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him; and established *Ratcliffe* in his place, (*Gosnoll* being dead) *Kendall* deposed. *Smith* newly recovered, *Martin* and *Ratcliffe* was by his care preserved and relieued, and the most of the souldiers recovered with the skilfull diligence of Master *Thomas Wotton* our Chirurgical generall.

But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages; when God the patron of all good indeuours, in that desperate extremitie so changed the hearts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted.

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Councell to send forth men so badly provided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainely they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceits; first, the fault of our going was our owne, what could be thought fitting or necessary we had; but what we should find, or want, or where we should be, we were all ignorant, and supposing to make our passage in two moneths, with victuall to liue, and the advantage of the spring to worke; we were at Sea fise moneths, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunitie of the time and season to plant, by the vnskilfull presumption of our ignorant transporters, that vnderstood not at all, what they vndertooke.

Such actions haue ever since the worlds beginning beene subiect to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties: but nothing so difficult as to establish a Common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes, and where mens mindes are so vntoward as neither doe well themselues, nor suffer others. But to proceed.

The new President, and *Martin*, being little beloved, of weake iudgement in dangers, and lesse industrie in peace, committed

the managing of all things abroad to Captaine *Smith*: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwayes bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time, he proviked most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe.

This done, seeing the Salvages superfluitie beginne to decrease (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe in the Shallop to search the Country for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailes, the want of a sufficient power (knowing the multitude of the Salvages), apparell for his men, and other necessities, were infinite impediments; yet no discouragement.

Being but six or seauen in company he went downe the river to *Kecoughtan*: where at first they scorned him, as a famished man; and would in derision offer him a handfull of Corne, a peece of bread, for their swords and muskets, and such like proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade and courtesie there was nothing to be had, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessitie inforced, though contrary to his Commission: Let fly his muskets, ran his boat on shore; whereat they all fled into the woods.

So marching towards their houses, they might see great heapes of corne: much adoe he had to restraints his hungry souldiers from present taking of it, expecting as it hapned that the Salvages would assault them, as not long after they did with a most hydeous noyse. Sixtie or seaventie of them, some blacke, some red, some white, some party-coloured, came in a square order, singing and dauncing out of the woods, with their *Okee* (which was an Idoll made of skinned, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hung with chaines and copper) borne before them: and in this manner, being well armed with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, that so kindly receiued them with their muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and divers lay sprauling on the ground; the rest fled againe to the woods, and ere long sent one of their *Quiyoughkasoucks* to offer peace, and redeeme their *Okee*.

Smith told them, if onely six of them would come vnarmed and loaden his boat, he would not only be their friend, but restore them their *Okee*, and giue them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets besides: which on both sides was to their contents performed: and then they brought him Venison, Turkies, wild foule, bread,

and what they had; singing and dauncing in signe of friendship till they departed.

In his returne he discovered the Towne and Country of *War-raskoyack*.

*Thus God vnboundlesse by his power,
Made them thus kind, would vs deuour.*

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) not any regarded but from hand to mouth: (the company being well recovered) caused the Pinnacle to be provided with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following; but in the interim he made 3. or 4. iournies and discovered the people of *Chickahamania*: yet what he carefully provided the rest carelesly spent.

Wingfield and *Kendall* liuing in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of *Smith*, the companies dislike of their Presidents weaknes, and their small loue to *Martins* never mending sicknes, strengthened themselues with the sailers and other confederates, to regaine their former credit and authority, or at least such meanes aboard the Pinnacle, (being fitted to saile as *Smith* had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for *England*.

Smith vnexpectedly returning had the plot discovered to him, much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of sakre and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the riuer: which action cost the life of captaine *Kendall*.

These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they were better forgotten, yet all men of good judgement will conclude it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame of their excused disorders.

The President and captaine *Archer* not long after intended also to haue abandoned the country, which project also was curbed, and suppressed by *Smith*.

The *Spaniard* never more greedily desired gold then he victuall; nor his souldiers more to abandon the Country, then he to keepe it. But finding plentie of Corne in the riuer of *Chickahamania*, where hundreds of Salvages in diuers places stood with baskets expecting his comming.

And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions, and putchamins, fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could

eate them: so that none of our Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for England.

But our *Comædies* never endured long without a *Tragedie*; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine *Smith*, for not discovering the head of *Chickahamania* river, and taxed by the Councell, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so farre that with much labour by cutting of trees insunder he made his passage; but when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe a shore till his returne: himselfe with two English and two Salvages went vp higher in a Canowe; but hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one *George Cassen*, whom they slew, and much failed not to haue cut of the boat and all the rest.

Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, twentie myles in the desert, had his two men slaine (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall: who finding he was beset with 200. Salvages, two of them hee slew, still defending himselfe with the ayd of a Salvage his guid, whom he bound to his arme with his garters, and vsed him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrowes that stucke in his cloathes but no great hurt, till at last they tooke him prisoner.

When this newes came to *Iames* towne, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting what ensued.

Sixe or seuen weekes those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphes and coniurations they made of him, yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not onely diverted them from surprising the Fort, but procured his owne libertie, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired him more then their owne *Quiyouckosucks*.

The manner how they vsed and deliuered him, is as followeth.

The Salvages hauing drawne from *George Cassen* whether Captaine *Smith* was gone, prosecuting that opportunity they followed him with. 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of *Pamavneke*, who in diuisions searching the turnings of the riuer, found *Röbinson* and *Emry* by the fire side: these they shot full of arrowes and slew. Then finding the Captaine, as is said, that

used the Salvage that was his guide as his shield (three of them being slaine and diuers other so gauld) all the rest would not come neere him. Thinking thus to haue returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more than his way, slipped vp to the middle in an oasie creeke and his Salvage with him; yet durst they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his armes. Then according to their composition they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benumbed limbs.

He demanding for their Captaine, they shewed him *Opechan-kanough*, king of *Pamavneke*, to whom he gaue a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch it because of the glasse that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Iewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatnesse of the Land and Sea, the diuersitie of Nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them *Antipodes*, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration.

Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him: but the King holding vp the Compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to *Orapaks*, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well vsed.

Their order in conducting him was thus; Drawing themselues all in fyle, the King in the midst had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him. Captaine *Smith* was led after him by three great Salvages, holding him fast by each arme: and on each side six went in fyle with their Arrowes nocked. But arriving at the Towne (which was but onely thirtie or fortie hunting houses made of Mats, which they remoue as they please, as we our tents) all the women and children staring to behold him, the souldiers first all in fyle performed the forme of a *Bissone* so well as could be; and on each flanke, officers as Serieants to see them keepe their orders. A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast themselues in a ring, dauncing in such severall Postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches; being strangely painted, every one his quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a club; on his arme a Fox or an Otters skinne, or

some such matter for his vambrace; their heads and shoulders painted red, with Oyle and *Pocones* mingled together, which Scarlet-like colour made an exceeding handsome shew; his Bow in his hand, and the skinne of a Bird with her wings abroad dried, tyed on his head, a peece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tayles of their snaks tyed to it, or some such like toy. All this while *Smith* and the King stood in the midst guarded, as before is said: and after three dances they all departed. *Smith* they conducted to a long house, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did guard him; and ere long more bread and venison was brought him then would haue served twentie men. I thinke his stomacke at that time was not very good; what he left they put in baskets and tyed over his head. About midnight they set the meate againe before him, all this time not one of them would eate a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more; and then did they eate all the old, and reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him thinke they would fat him to eat him. Yet in this desperate estate to defend him from the cold, one *Maocassater* brought him his gowne, in requitall of some beads and toyes *Smith* had given him at his first arrivall in *Virginia*.

Two days after a man would haue slaine him (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his sonne, to whom they conducted him to recover the poore man then breathing his last. *Smith* told them that at *Iames* towne he had a water would doe it, if they would let him fetch it, but they would not permit that: but made all the preparations they could to assault *Iames* towne, crauing his advice; and for recompence he should haue life, libertie, land, and women. In part of a Table booke he writ his minde to them at the Fort, what was intended, how they should follow that direction to affright the messengers, and without fayle send him such things as he writ for. And an Inventory with them. The difficultie and danger, he told the Salvages, of the Mines, great gunnes, and other Engins exceedingly affrighted them, yet according to his request they went to *Iames* towne, in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow, and within three dayes returned with an answer.

But when they came to *Iame* towne, seeing men sally out as he had told them they would, they fled; yet in the night they came againe to the same place where he had told them they should receiue an answer, and such things as he had promised them: which they found accordingly, and with which they re-

turned with no small expedition, to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speake.

Then they led him to the *Youthtanunds*, the *Mattapanients*, the *Payankatanks*, the *Nantaughtacunds*, and *Onawmanients* vpon the rivers of *Rapahanock*, and *Patawomek*; over all those rivers, and backe againe by divers other severall Nations, to the Kings habitation at *Pamavneke*: where they entertained him with most strange and fearefull Coniurations;

*As if neare led to hell,
Amongst the Devils to dwell.*

Not long after, early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other; on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and all their tayles tyed together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was as a Coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, backe, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce, and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red: but all their eyes were painted white, and some red stroakes like Mutchato's along their cheekes: round about him those fiends daunced a pretty while, and then came in three more as vgly as the rest; with red eyes, and white stroakes over their blacke faces, at last they all sat downe right against him; three of them on the one hand of the chiefe Priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chiefe Priest layd downe fve wheat cornes: then straying his armes and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration: at the conclusion they all gaue a short groane; and then layd down three graines more. After that, began their song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice incirculed the fire; that done, they tooke a bunch of little stickes prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and Oration, they layd downe a sticke betwixt

the divisions of Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did either eate or drinke; and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three dayes they vsed this Ceremony; the meaning whereof they told him, was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher; and they in the midst.

After this they brought him a bagge of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corne; because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede.

Opitchapam the Kings brother invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, foule, and wild beasts, as did environ him, he bid him wellcome; but not any of them would eate a bit with him, but put vp all the remainder in Baskets.

At his returne to *Opechancanoughs*, all the Kings women, and their children, flocked about him for their parts; as a due by Custome, to be merry with such fragments.

*But his waking mind in hydeous dreames did oft see wondrous shapes,
Of bodies strange, and huge in growth, and of stupendious makes.*

At last they brought him to *Meronocomoco*, where was *Powhatan* their Emperor. Here more than two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till *Powhatan* and his trayne had put themselues in their greatest braveries. Before a fire vpon a seat like a bedsted, he sat covered with a great robe, made of *Rarowcun* skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red: many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks.

At his entrance before the king, all the people gaue a great shout. The Queene of *Appamatuck* was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were

brought before *Powhatan*: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas* the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laide her owne vpon his to saue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aswell of all occupations as themselues. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest.

*They say he bore a pleasant shew,
But sure his heart was sad.
For who can pleasant be, and rest,
That lives in feare and dreade:
And having life suspected, doth
It still suspected lead.*

Two dayes after, *Powhatan* having disguised himselfe in the most fearefullest manner he could, caused Captain *Smith* to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there vpon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noyse he ever heard; then *Powhatan* more like a devill then a man, with some two hundred more as blacke as himselfe, came vnto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should goe to *Iames* towne, to send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would giue him the Country of *Capahowosick*, and for ever esteeme him as his sonne *Nan-taquoud*.

So to *Iames* towne with 12 guides *Powhatan* sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almightie God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those sterne *Barbarians* with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the Fort, where *Smith* having vsed the Salvages with what kindnesse he could, he shewed *Rawhunt*, *Powhatans* trusty servant, two demi-Culverings and a millstone to carry *Powhatan*: they found them somewhat too heauey; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with Isickles

the yce and branches came so tumbling downe, that the poore Salvages ran away halfe dead with feare. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gaue them such toyes; and sent to *Powhatan*, his women, and children such presents, as gaue them in generall full content.

Now in *Iames Towne* they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the Pinnacle; which with the hazzard of his life, with Sakre falcon and musket shot, *Smith* forced now the third time to stay or sinke.

Some no better then they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day to haue put him to death by the Leviticall law, for the liues of *Robinson* and *Emry*; pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for *England*.

Now ever once in foure or fiue dayes, *Pocahontas* with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their liues, that els for all this had starved with hunger.

*Thus from numbe death our good God sent reliefe,
The sweete asswager of all other grieffe.*

His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at *Wera-wocomoco*, and of the state and bountie of *Powhatan*, (which till that time was vnknowne) so revived their dead spirits (especially the loue of *Pocahontas*) as all mens feare was abandoned.

Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good indeavour; and the good successe of the businesse being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God hath still delivered it.

As for the insufficiency of them admitted in Commission, that error could not be prevented by the Electors; there being no other choise, and all strangers to each others education, qualities, or disposition.

And if any deeme it a shame to our Nation to haue any mention made of those inormities, let him peruse the Histories of the Spanyards Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissensions haue accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being knowne to be particular mens offences; doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, which malice, presumption, covetousnesse,

or ignorance might produce; to the scandall and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserue a more worthy respect.

Now whether it had beene better for Captaine *Smith*, to haue concluded with any of those severall proiects, to haue abandoned the Countrey, with some ten or twelue of them, who were called the better sort, and haue left Master *Hunt* our Preacher, Master *Anthony Gosnoll*, a most honest, worthy, and industrious Gentleman, Master *Thomas Wotton*, and some 27 others of his Countrymen to the fury of the Salvages, famine, and all manner of mischiefes, and inconveniences, (for they were but fortie in all to keepe possession of this large Countrey;) or starue himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging: or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserue the action, and saue all their liues; I leaue to the censure of all honest men to consider. But

*We men imagine in our Iolitie,
That 'tis all one, or good or bad to be.
But then anone wee alter this againe,
If happily wee feelee the sence of paine;
For then we're turn'd into a mourning vaine.*

Written by *Thomas Studley* the first Cape Merchant in *Virginia*,
Robert Fenton, and *Edward Harrington*, and I. S.

PREFACE TO SMITH'S "GENERAL HISTORIE OF VIRGINIA."

A Preface of Foure Poynts.

I. This plaine History humbly sheweth the truth; that our most royall King *Iames* hath place and opportunitie to enlarge his ancient Dominions without wronging any; (which is a condition most agreeable to his most iust and pious resolutions:) and the Prince his Highness may see where to plant new Colonies. The gaining prouinces addeth to the Kings Crown: but the reducing Heathen people to ciuilitie and true Religion, bringeth honour to the King of Heauen. If his Princely wisdom and powerfull hand, renowned through the world for admirable government, please but to set these new Estates into order; their composure will be singular: the counsell of diuers is confused; the generall Stocke is consumed; nothing but the touch of the Kings sacred hand can erect a Monarchy.

II. Most noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen, it is your Honors that haue employed great paines and large expence in laying the foundation of this State, wherein much hath beene buried under ground, yet some thing hath sprung vp, and giuen you a taste of your adventures. Let no difficulties alter your noble intentions. The action is an honour to your Country: and the issue may well reimburse you your summes expended. Our practices haue hitherto beene but assayes, and are still to be amended. Let your bountie supply the necessities of weake beginnings, and your excellent iudgements rectifie the proceedings; the returne cannot choose in the end but bring you good Commodities, and good contentments, by your aduancing shipping and fishing so vsefull vnto our Nation.

III. Yee valiant and generous spirits, personall possessors of these new-found Territories, banish from among you Cowardise, covetousnes, iealousies, and idlenes, enemies to the raising your honours and fortunes; vertue, industry, and amitie, will make you good and great, and your merits liue to ensuing Ages. You that in contempt of necessities, hazard your liues and estates, imploying your studies and labours in these faire endeavours, liue and prosper as I desire my soule should prosper.

IIII. For my selfe let emulation and enuie cease, I ever intended my actions should be vpright: now my care hath beene that my Relations should giue every man they concerne, their due. But had I not discovered and liued in the most of those parts, I could not possibly haue collected the substantiall truth from such a number of variable Relations, that would haue made a Volume at least of a thousand sheets. Though the beginning may seeme harsh in regard of the Antiquities, breuitie, and names; a pleasanter Discourse ensues. The stile of a Souldier is not eloquent, but honest and iustificable; so I desire all my friends and well-wishers to excuse and accept it; and if any be so noble as to respect it, he that brought New England to light, though long since brought in obscuritie, he is againe to be found a true servant to all good designs.

So I ever rest yours to command,

JOHN SMITH.

One cannot read his Works, without seeing that JOHN SMITH was something more than a brave and experienced soldier. Not only in his modesty and self-restraint, his moderation and magnanimity, his loyalty to the King, affection for the Church, and love for his Country, did he represent the best type of the English Gentleman of his day; but he was also a man of singular and varied ability. His manysidedness is seen, as he is a Captain of Artillery at Stühlwessenberg and at Kanizsa, in Hungary, in 1601; or while "managing the fights" of the French pirate ship, off the Azores, in 1615: as he is a Captain of Cavalry in the plains of Girke in Hungary in 1601, and the battle of Rothen-

thum in Transylvania, in 1602: as he is a Promoter, and the Saviour of the London or Southern Virginia Company in 1605-9: as he is the masterly Surveyor of inland Virginia in 1607-8: as he is the Discoverer of the Chesapeake Bay in 1608, and of the New England coast in 1614: as he is the enthusiastic Advocate and the eloquent Historian of English Colonization in America, 1614-30: as he is the first landsman who ever described in print all the parts, and all the working, of an English ship; and who wrote our first *Sea Grammar* in 1626: not to speak of the *History of the Sea* which he did not live to complete, and which is apparently now lost.

Put all this beside the one single POCAHONTAS incident by which he is popularly remembered, and one sees that the real JOHN SMITH is a far greater man than the mythical one.

It is not too much to say, that had not Captain SMITH of Willoughby, strove, fought, and endured as he did, the present United States of America might never have come into existence. It was contrary to all probability that, where so many had succumbed already, the Southern Virginian Company's expedition of 1606-7 should have succeeded. The Spaniards under DE SOTO, and the French under LAUDONNIÈRE had failed. The men sent out twenty years before by Sir WALTER RALEIGH, had never been heard of: and the corresponding attempt of the Northern Virginian Company to Sagadahock, in that same year 1606, came to nothing.

To what one single cause, under GOD, can be assigned the preservation of the James river Settlement after the early death of Captain BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, on 22 August 1607, but to the fortunate presence of this English Captain, so self-denying, so energetic, so full of resources, and so trained (by his conflicts and captivity in Eastern Europe) in dealing with the savage races? RATCLIFFE, ARCHER, and MARTIN, with all the rest of those who opposed him, lived in a fool's Paradise; and paid for their folly with the loss of their lives, after SMITH came home: when, in spite of all that he had done, the Colony went to rack and ruin, all through that terrible winter of 1609-10, known as *The Starving Time*.

If SMITH had died, or left, earlier than he did; the James river Settlement must have succumbed: for manifestly he was the life and energy of the whole Plantation. If the Third Supply, on their arrival there, in August 1609 had found an abandoned, or a destroyed Colony: that they alone could not have succeeded, where SMITH would have failed, is quite evident from the fact that they *did* all but perish through *The Starving Time*, in spite of all the resources, which he left ready to their hands, at his going home, after he had been accidentally blown up by gunpowder, on the 4th of October 1609.

If, then, this James river Colony had failed before August 1609, when the Third Supply arrived; the Colony at Bermuda would never have

been attempted: and the Pilgrim Fathers would not have gone to New England; but, if anywhere, to Guiana, to perish among its forests and swamps. So that, for about a couple of years, all the glorious possibilities that are still wrapped up in the words, *United States of America*, hung, as on a slight thread, upon the hardened strength and powers of endurance, the self-forgetfulness and public spirit of this enthusiastic young English Captain.—*Edward Arber*.

The Works of Captain John Smith, edited with a careful introduction and full notes by Edward Arber, all included in a single volume, gives the student everything written by Smith, with a mass of information concerning his writings and his adventurous life. The volume is doubly valuable by reason of printing Smith's various works relating to Virginia in a way that enables the reader to compare easily the parallel or corresponding passages,—the sections drawn upon from the earlier accounts in the preparation of the later ones; and this comparison is important in connection with the controversies that have arisen over the accounts. Smith's "True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Note as hath passed in Virginia since the First Planting of that Colony" was published in London in 1608; a careful reprint of it, with a critical introduction by Charles Deane, was published in 1866. "A Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Country," was published at Oxford in 1612. "The General History of Virginia, Summer Isles, and New England," was published in 1624. Various writers collaborated with Smith in this larger work, and many passages from the earlier works were incorporated, with or without alteration in different cases. The critical discussion of this by Arber should be read.

Smith wrote various works besides those relating to the settlement of Virginia. His explorations of the New England coast, and the map which he made in connection, were of great importance. A large part of his "Description of New England" is printed in Old South Leaflet No. 121. The excellent article on Smith in the Dictionary of National Biography is by J. A. Doyle, and this contains a good estimate of the character and value of the various historical and biographical works relating to Smith.

An interesting passage in the section of the "General History of Virginia," printed in the present leaflet, is that giving the story of the saving of the captain's life by Pocahontas,—a story missing in the corresponding section of the "True Relation." The most interesting recent discussion of the credibility of this story is that by John Fiske, in his "Old Virginia and her Neighbors." Mr. Fiske defends the story against the criticisms of Charles Deane, Henry Adams, and others, to which the student is referred.

THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS reprint important documents on history and literature, particularly in America. They are published under the editorial supervision of S. E. Morison, Ph.D., by THE OLD SOUTH ASSOCIATION, Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Massachusetts, of whom they may be obtained at five cents the copy, four dollars the hundred, or in bound volumes, twenty-five numbers in each, one dollar and a half. A catalogue of the series will be forwarded upon request.



New Netherland in 1640.

By DAVID PETERSON DE VRIES.

FROM HIS "SHORT HISTORICAL AND JOURNAL NOTES."

Saw land again from on board [Dec. 26, 1638], and at noon came in sight of the highlands of Sandy Hook, and at four o'clock reached the point, where the pilots wanted to cast anchor and fire a gun, in order that some one might come off and pilot the ship in. I told him that his cannon were not heavy enough for them to hear the report at the fort, which was five miles distant. Then the skipper said he would return to the West Indies, as he saw the island covered with snow, and wait there till summer. I answered him that, if we could not get in here, I would take him to the South River. But I could not make him understand that there was any South River, inasmuch as he had old false charts by which he wanted to sail. As there were some passengers who had dwelt several years in New Netherland, they urged him to ask me to take him in, as I had been there with my own ship at night, as before related. The skipper then came to me, and asked me if I would sail the ship in, as I was well acquainted here. I answered him that I would do so for the sake of the passengers who were on board; and that he, at another time, if he took freight, should employ pilots who were acquainted with the places. So I brought the ship that same evening before Staten Island, which belonged to me, where I intended to settle my people, and at dark let our anchor fall in eight fathoms.

The 27th, in the morning, the weather became very foggy, so that one could hardly see from the stem to the stern of the ship. The skipper then asked me whether we should lie there, as there was nothing in sight. I told him to weigh anchor.

and, although it was growing darker, I would, with that breeze, bring him before the fort in an hour. The anchor being raised, we quickly sailed to the fort, where there was great rejoicing, inasmuch as they were not expecting any ship at that time of year. Found there a commander, named William Kieft, who was sent to the station from France, and had come in the spring, having wintered in the Bermudas, because they did not dare to venture upon the coast of New Netherland, in consequence of the ignorance of their pilots. Going ashore, I was made welcome by the commander, who invited me to his house.

ANNO 1639. The 5th January I sent my people to Staten Island to begin to plant a colony there, with assistance to build.

The 4th of June I started north in a yacht to the Fresh River, where the West India Company have a small fort called the House of Hope, and at night came to anchor in Oyster Bay, which is a large bay which lies on the north side of the great Island, which is about thirty miles long. This bay put up into the island, and is about two miles wide from the mainland. There are fine oysters here, whence our nation has given it the name of Oyster Bay.

The 6th had good weather at break of day, and got under sail, and at evening arrived at the Rodenberghs* (Red Hills), which is a fine haven. Found that the English had begun to build a town on the mainland, where there were already three hundred houses and a fine church built.

The 7th, having weighed anchor, arrived at the Fresh River about two o'clock in the afternoon, where at the mouth of the river the English have made a strong fort. There was a governor, Lion Gardiner, who had a Netherland wife from Worden, and he himself had formerly been an engineer and working-baas in Holland. They cannot sail with large ships into this river; and vessels must not draw more than six feet water to navigate up to our little fort, which lies fifteen miles from the mouth of the river. Besides, there are many bare places, or stone reefs, over which the Indians go with canoes. Remained at night at this English fort, where we were well treated by the governor.

The 8th took our leave and went up the river; and, having proceeded about a mile up the river, we met, between two high steep points, some Indians in canoes, who had on English gar-

ments, and among them was one who had on a red scarlet mantle. I inquired how he came by the mantle. He had some time ago killed one Captain Stone, with his people, in a bark, from whom he had obtained these clothes. This was the captain of whom I have before spoken in my first voyage to America, who had the misfortune of his boatmen eating each other; and he had now lost his own life by the Indians.

The 9th arrived with the yacht at the House of Hope, where one Gysbert Van Dyck commanded with fourteen or fifteen soldiers. This redoubt stands upon a plain on the margin of the river; and alongside it runs a creek to a high woodland, out of which comes a valley, which makes this hill, and where the English, in spite of us, have begun to build up a small town, and had built a fine church and over a hundred houses. The commander gave me orders to make a protest against them, as they were using our own land, which we had bought of the Indians. Some of our soldiers had forbidden them to put the plough into it; but they had disregarded them, and had cudgelled some of the company's soldiers. Going there, I was invited by the English governor to dine. When sitting at the table, I told him that it was wrong to take by force the company's land, which it had bought and paid for. He answered that the lands were lying idle; that, though we had been there many years, we had done scarcely anything; that it was a sin to let such rich land, which produced such fine corn, lie uncultivated; and that they had already built three towns upon this river, in a fine country. There are many salmon up this river. These English live soberly, drink only three times at a meal, and whoever drinks himself drunk they tie to a post and whip him, as they do thieves in Holland.

The 12th. Among the incidents which happened while I was here was that of an English ketch arriving here from the north, with thirty pipes of Canary wine. There was a merchant with it, who was from the same city, in England, as the servant of the minister of this town, and was well acquainted with him. Now this merchant invited the minister's servant on board the vessel to drink with him; and it seems that the man became fuddled with wine, or drank pretty freely, which was observed by the minister. So they brought the servant to the church, where the post stood, in order to whip him. The merchant then came to me, and requested me to speak to the minister, as it was my fault that he had given wine to his countryman. I

accordingly went to the commander of our little fort, or redoubt, and invited the minister and the mayor and other leading men, with their wives, who were very fond of eating cherries, as there were from forty to fifty cherry-trees standing about the redoubt, full of cherries. We feasted the minister and the governor and their wives, who came to us; and, as we were seated at the meal in the redoubt, I, together with the merchant, requested the minister to pardon his servant, saying that he probably had not partaken of any wine for a year, and that such sweet Canary wine would intoxicate any man. We were a long while before we could persuade him; but their wives spoke favorably, whereby the servant got free. . . These people give out that they are Israelites, and that we at our colony are Egyptians, and that the English in the Virginias are also Egyptians. I frequently told the governor that it would be impossible for them to keep the people so strict, as they had come from so luxurious a country as England.

The 14th took leave of the House of Hope. This river is a fine pleasant stream, where many thousand Christians could obtain farms.

The 15th, early in the morning, we arrived again at the mouth of the river, and ran out of it. Sailed this day four miles past Roode-bergh, and came into a river where the English had begun to make a village, and where over fifty houses were in process of erection, and a portion finished.

The 16th weighed anchor, and sailed by two places which the English had built up, and at noon arrived where two Englishmen had built houses. One of the Englishmen was named Captain Patrick, whose wife was a Dutch woman from The Hague. After we had been there two or three hours, proceeded on our voyage, and at evening reached the *Minates*, before Fort Amsterdam, where we found two ships had arrived from our *Patria*, one of which was a ship of the Company, the *Herring*, the other was a private ship, the *Fire of Troy*, from Hoorn, laden with cattle on account of Jochem Pietersz, who had formerly been a commander in the East Indies, for the King of Denmark. It was to be wished that one hundred to three hundred such families, with laborers, had come, as this would very soon become a good country.

The 10th February. I have begun to make a plantation, a mile and a half, or two miles above the fort, as there was there a fine location, and full thirty-one morgens of maize-land, where

there were no trees to remove; and hay-land lying all together, sufficient for two hundred cattle, which is a great article there. I went there to live, half on account of the pleasure of it, as it was all situated along the river. I leased out the plantation of Staten Island, as no people had been sent me from Holland, as was stipulated in the contract which I made with Frederick de Vries, a manager of the West India Company.

The 15th of April, I went with my sloop to Fort Orange, where I wanted to examine the land, which is on the river. Arrived at *Tapaen* in the evening, where a large valley of about two or three hundred morgens of clay soil lies under the mountain, three or four feet above the water. A creek, which comes from the highland, runs through it, on which fine water-mills could be erected. I bought this valley from the Indians, as it was only three miles above my plantation and five miles from the fort. There was also much maize-land, but too stony to be ploughed.

The 25th. Opposite Tapaen lies a place called *Wickquaesgeck*, where there is much maize-land, but stony or sandy, and where many fir-trees grow. We generally haul fine masts from there. The land is also mountainous.

The 16th, went further up the river. Passed the *Averstro*, where a kill runs out, formed from a large fall, the noise of which can be heard in the river. The land is also very high. At noon passed the highlands, which are prodigiously high stony mountains; and it is about a mile going through them. Here the river, at its narrowest, is about five or six hundred paces wide, as well as I could guess. At night came by the *Dance-chamber*, where there was a party of Indians, who were very riotous, seeking only mischief, so that we were on our guard.

The 27th, we came to *Esoopes*, where a creek runs in; and there the Indians had some maize-land, but it was stony. Arrived at evening, as it blew hard, before the Cats-kill. Found the river up to this point stony and mountainous, unfit for habitations. But there was some lowland here, and the Indians sowed maize along the Cats-kill.

The 28th, arrived at *Beeren* (Bears') Island, where were many Indians fishing. Here the land begins to be low along the margin of the river, and at the foot of the mountains it was good for cultivation. At evening we reached Brand-pylen's Island, which lies a little below Fort Orange, and belongs to the patroons, Godyn, Ronselaer, Jan de Laet, and Bloemart, who had also

there more farms, which they had made in good condition at the Company's cost, as the Company had sent the cattle from Fatherland at great expense; and these individuals, being the commissioners of New Netherland, had made a good distribution among themselves, and, while the Company had nothing but an empty fort, they had the farms and trade around it, and every boor was a merchant.

The 30th of April. The land here is, in general, like it is in France. It is good, and very productive of everything necessary for the life of man, except clothes, linens, woollens, shoes, and stockings; but these they could have if the country were well populated, and there could be made good leather of the hides of animals, which multiply in great quantities. Good tan could be made of the bark of oak-trees. The land all along this river is very mountainous. Some cliffs of stone are exceedingly high, upon which grow fine fir-trees, which may be discerned with the eye. There are, besides, in this country oaks, alders, beeches, elms, and willows, both in the woods and along the water. The islands are covered with chestnut, plum, and hazel-nut trees, and large walnuts of different kinds, of as good flavor as they are in Fatherland, but hard of shell. The ground on the mountains is bedecked with shrubs of bilberries or blueberries, such as in Holland come from Veeluwes. The level land, or old maize-land, is covered with strawberries, which grow here so plentifully that they answer for food. There are also in the woods, as well as along the river, vines very abundant of two kinds, one bearing good blue grapes, which are pleasant when the vines are pruned, and of which good wine could be made. The other kind is like the grapes which grow in France on trellises,—the large white ones which they make verjuice of in France. They are as large as the joints of the fingers, but require great labor, for these vines grow in this country on the trees, and the grapes are like the wild grapes which grow along the roads in France, on vines which are not pruned, and which are thick with wood, with little sap in it, for want of being attended to. There was this year, as they told me, a large quantity of deer at harvest and through the winter, very fat, having upon their ribs upwards of two fingers of tallow, so that they were nothing else than clear fat. They also had this year great numbers of turkeys. They could buy a deer for a loaf of bread, or for a knife, or even for a tobacco-pipe. At other times they give cloth, worth six or seven guilders.

There are many partridges, heath-hens, and pigeons which fly together in thousands, and our people sometimes shoot thirty, forty, and fifty of them at a shot. Plenty of fowl, such as belong to the river, and all along the river are great numbers of them of different kinds, such as swans, geese, pigeons, teal, and wild geese, which go up the river in the spring by thousands, from the seacoast, and fly back again in the fall.

Whilst I was at Fort Orange, the 30th of April, there was such a high flood at the island on which Brand-pylen lived—who was my host at this time—that we were compelled to leave the island, and go with boats into the house, where there were four feet of water. This flood continued three days, before we could use the dwelling again. The water ran into the fort, and we were compelled to repair to the woods, where we erected tents and kindled large fires. These woods are full of animals, bears, wolves, foxes, and especially of snakes, black snakes, and rattlesnakes, which are very poisonous, and which have a rattle at the end of the tail, with many rattles, according to their age. As to what the land produces, the soil, which on the mountains is a red sand or cliffs of stone, but in the low plains often clay ground, is very fertile, as Brand-pylen told me that he had produced wheat on this island for twelve years successively without its lying fallow. He also told me that here the Indians put their enemies to death, as horribly as *this plate shows*, and had for some time past done justice to their enemies in this place. They place their foe against a tree or stake, and first tear all the nails from his fingers, and run them on a string, which they wear the same as we do gold chains. It is considered to the honor of any chief who has vanquished or overcome his enemies, if he bite off or cut off some of their members, as whole fingers. Afterward the prisoner is compelled to sing and dance, entirely naked, before them; and, finally, when they burn the captive, they kill him with a slow fire, and then eat him up, the commoners eating the arms and buttocks, and the chiefs eating the head. When these Indians fasten their enemy to the stake, he is compelled to sing, and accordingly begins to sing of his friends, who will avenge his death. They inflict a cruel death upon him, pricking his body with hot burning wood in different parts, till he is tormented to death. They then tear his heart out of his body, which every one eats a piece of, in order to embitter themselves against their enemies. Along this land runs an excellent river, which comes out of the Maquas County,

about four miles to the north of Fort Orange. I went there with some Indians, and passed by a farm upon which a boor lived, whom they called Brother Cornelis. This river runs between two high rocky banks, and falls over a rock as high as a church, with such a noise that it is frequently heard at the farm, and when I was there it made such a loud noise that we could hardly hear each other speak. The water flowed by with such force that it was all the time as if it were raining, and the trees upon the hills, as high as the dunes at home, have their boughs constantly wet as if with rain. The water is as clear as crystal and fresh as milk, and appears all the time as if a rainbow stood in it, but that arises from its clearness. There are a great many Indians here, whom they call Maquas, who catch many lampreys, otherwise called pricks. The river is about six hundred to seven hundred paces wide at this place, and contains large quantities of fine fish, such as pike, perch, eels, suckers, thick-heads, sunfish, shad, striped bass, which is a fish which comes from the sea in the spring, and swims up the river into the fresh water as the salmon does. There are sturgeon, but our people will not eat them; also trout, slightly yellow inside, which I myself have caught, and which are considered in France the finest of fish. There are several islands in this river, of thirty, fifty, and seventy morgens of land in size. The soil is very good. The temperature is in extremes, in the summer excessively hot, and in winter exceedingly cold, so that in one night the ice will freeze hard enough to bear one. The summer continues to All Saints' Day; and in December it will freeze so hard that if there be a strong current, which loosens it, it will freeze in a night what has run over it in the day. The ice continues generally for three months, and, although the latitude is forty-three, it is, nevertheless, always frozen for that period; for, though sometimes it thaws in pleasant days, it does not continue to do so, but it freezes again until March, when the river first begins to open, sometimes in February, though seldom. The severest cold comes from the north-west, as in Holland from the north-east. The reason of this cold is that the mountains to the north of it are covered with snow; and the north-west wind comes blowing over them, and drives all the cold down. This tribe of Indians was formerly a powerful nation, but they are brought into subjection, and made tributaries by the Maquas. They are stout men, well favored of countenance, body, and limb, but all of them have black hair and yellow skin. They go naked

in the summer. . . . In winter they throw over them an unprepared deer-skin or bear's hide, or a covering of turkey's feathers, which they know how to make; or they buy duffels of us, two ells and a half long, and unsewed, go off with it, surveying themselves, and think that they appear fine. They make themselves shoes and stockings of deer-skins, or they take the leaves of maize and braid them together, and use them for shoes. Men and women go with their heads bare. The women let their hair grow very long, tie it together a little, and let it hang down the back. Some of the men have it on one side of the head, others have a lock hanging on each side. On the top of the head they have a strip of hair from the forehead to the neck, about three fingers broad, and cut two or three fingers long. It then stands straight up like a cock's-comb. On both sides of this cock's-comb they cut it off close, except the locks, as may be seen in the plate. They paint their faces red, blue, and brown, and look like the devil himself. They smear their foreheads with bear grease, which they carry along with them in little baskets. It would be much better for them to wash themselves, if they only thought so, and they would not be troubled with lice. Whenever they go journeying, they take with them some maize and a kettle, with a wooden bowl and spoon, which they pack up together and hang on their backs. When they become hungry, they immediately make a fire and cook it. They make the fire by rubbing sticks together, and that very rapidly.

. . . After I had observed the manners of these Indians, who carry on a fierce war with the French Indians, Corlear told me that he had been at their fort, where they had brought some Indians they had captured on the river St. Lawrence, where the French live. They had taken three Frenchmen, one of whom was a Jesuit,—whose release our people hoped to obtain,—and had killed one.* All the children, of ten or twelve years of age, and the women whom they had taken in the war, they spared, except the very old women, whom they killed. Though they are so revengeful toward their enemies, they are very friendly to us. We have no fear of them; we go with them into the woods; we meet each other sometimes at an hour or two's distance from any house, and we think nothing more of it than if a Christian met us. They also sleep in the chambers before

* The Jesuit Father here referred to was Father Jogues. The person killed was René Goupil.

our beds, but lying down upon the bare ground, with a stone or piece of wood under the head. They are very slovenly and dirty. They do not wash their faces and their hands, but let all remain upon their yellow skin, just as the savages do at the Cape of Good Hope, and look like hogs. Their bread is maize, beaten between two stones, when they are travelling, but pounded sometimes, when they are in their houses, in a large block, hollowed out, *as may be seen in the plate*. They make cakes of it, and bake them in the ashes. Their other food is deer, turkeys, hares, bears, wild cats, and their own dogs, etc. They cook their fish as they take them from the water without cleaning them. They cook the deer with the entrails and all their contents, and very little; and, if the entrails are then too tough, they take one end in the mouth and the other in the hands, and between the hand and mouth they cut or separate them. They do the same thing generally with the flesh, for they carve little. They lay it in the fire as long as it takes to count an hundred, as in France a steak is laid upon a gridiron. It is then done enough; and, when they bite into it, the blood runs down the sides of the mouth. They will also eat up a piece of bear's fat as large as two fists, without bread or anything else. It is natural for them to have no beards, and not one among a hundred has any hair around his mouth. They also have a great conceit of themselves; and in praising themselves they say, "I am the devil," meaning that they are superior men. When they praise their tribe, they say they are great hunters of deer, or do this or that. So they say of all the *Mahakunosers*,—they "are great wise devils." They make their dwellings of the bark of trees, very close and warm, and kindle the fire in the middle. Their canoes or boats are made of the bark of trees and will carry five or six persons. They also hollow out trees, and use them for boats and skiffs, some of which are very large, and I have frequently seen eighteen or twenty seated in a hollow log, going along the river; and I have myself had a wooden canoe, in which I could carry two hundred and twenty-five bushels of maize. The weapons in war were bows and arrows, stone axes, and clap-hammers, but they have now obtained guns from our people. He was a villain who first sold them to them, and showed them how to use them. They say it was the devil, and that they durst not touch them till an Indian came there with a gun, which they call *Kallebacker*. They also buy swords and iron axes from us. Their money is small beads made on the

seaside, of shells or cockles, which are found on the shore; and these cockles they grind upon a stone as thin as they wish them, and then drill a small hole through them, and string them on threads, or make bands of them the breadth of a hand or more, which they hang on the shoulders and round the body. They have also divers holes in their ears, from which they hang them, and make caps of them for the head. There are two kinds. The white are the least and the brown-blue are the most valuable; and they give two white beads for one brown. They call them *Zeewan*, and have as great a fancy for them as many Christians have for gold, silver, and pearls. For our gold they have hardly any desire, and consider it no better than iron, and say that we are silly to esteem a piece of iron so highly, which if they had they would throw into the water. Though they bury their dead, they place them in a hole in a sitting posture, and not lying, and then throw trees and wood upon the grave, or enclose it with palisades. They have their set times when they go to fish. In the spring they catch immense numbers of shad and lampreys, which are very large. These they lay in the sun, upon the bark of trees, and dry thoroughly hard, and then put them in notessen or bags, which they plait of hemp, which grows wild, and keep the fish in them till winter, when their maize is ripe, from which they take the ears and pile them up in caves, and keep them there the whole winter. They also knit bow-nets and seines in their style. From religion, and all worship of God, they are entirely estranged. They have, indeed, one whom they call by a strange name, who is a genius, whom they regard instead of God, but they do not serve him or make offerings to him. They serve, revere, and make offerings to the devil, whom they call *Ostkon*, or *Ayreskuoni*; for, when they have any misfortune in war, they catch a bear, which they cut into pieces and burn, and offer it to their Ayreskuoni, saying the following words in their language: "O, great and powerful Ayreskuoni, we know that we have sinned against thee, because we have not killed and eaten up the enemies we took captive. Forgive us this. We promise that we will kill and eat up all those whom we shall hereafter take prisoners as heartily as we have killed and eaten up this bear." So when it is hot weather, and there comes a cooling wind, they immediately cry out, "*Asoronusi*,"—that is, "I thank you, devil, I thank you, *Oomke*"; and when they are sick, and have any sore or pain in the limbs, and I ask them what ails them, they say that the

devil is in the body, or is sitting in the sore places and bites them there. They attribute to the devil whatever happens to them: otherwise they know of no worship of God. They ridicule us when we pray. Some of them, when it was told them what we prayed, stood in wonder, and asked me whether I had seen in our country Him whom I worshipped. . . . These *Maeckquase* Indians are divided into three tribes, one of which takes its designation from the bear, another from the wild tortoise, the third from the wolf; and of these that of the tortoise is the greatest and most celebrated, and claims to be the oldest. These Indians each have upon their banners the animal after which they are named, and, when they go to war, carry it as a sign of terror to their enemies, as they suppose, and of courage to themselves.

Their government rests with the oldest, wisest, best-spoken, and bravest men, who generally resolve, and the young men and the bravest execute, but, if the commonalty do not approve of the resolution, it is then submitted to the decision of the whole populace. The chiefs are generally the poorest among them, for instead of their receiving anything, as amongst Christians, from the commonalty, or of those in office enriching themselves by unrighteous means or otherwise, these Indian chiefs are made to give to the populace, especially whenever there is any one left dead in war, and they then give large presents to the next of blood kin to the deceased; and, if they then take a prisoner, they give him to the family to which the dead man belonged, and the prisoner is then adopted by that family in place of the deceased. There is hardly any punishment for murder and other crimes, but each one is his own judge, and the bereaved friends revenge themselves upon the murderer until he buys his peace by presents to the relatives. Although they are cruel, and live without any punishment of evil-doers, there is not one-fourth part as much roguery and murder among them as there is among Christians, so that I have frequently wondered what murders happened in Fatherland, notwithstanding such severe laws and penalties, while these Indians, living without laws or fear of punishment, kill very few, and then only in anger and personal combat. We are, therefore, entirely without fear in going with the Indians, and walk an hour with them in the woods without harm. After I had observed the above-written circumstances and manners of the Indians, I set out again for the river.

The 14th May, took my leave of the Commander at Fort

Orange, and the same day reached *Esopers*, where a creek runs in, and where there is some maize-land upon which some Indians live.

The 15th, got under sail at break of day, with the ebb-tide, and at noon came to the Dance-chamber, where there were many Indians fishing; passed the Highlands, and at evening anchored at *Tapaen*, and remained there all night, near the Indians, who were fishing.

The 16th, weighed anchor, and sailed, with the ebb and a strong breeze from the north-west, in three hours to the Fort. The above-named river has nothing but mountains on both sides, little capable of sustaining a population, as there are only cliffs and stones along the river, as I have related before. There is here and there some maize-land, from which the Indians remove the stones and cultivate it. The tide flows up to Fort Orange by the pressure of the sea.

The 16th July, Cornelis Van Thienhoven, Secretary of New Netherland, departed with a commission from the head men and council of New Netherland, with a hundred armed men, to the Raritanghe, a nation of Indians who live where a little stream runs up about five miles behind Staten Island, for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction from the Indians for the hostilities committed by them upon Staten Island, in killing my swine and those of the Company, which a negro watched,—whom I had been solicited to place there,—in robbing the watch-house, and in attempting to run off with the yacht *Vrede*, of which Cornelis Pietersz was master, and which met with an accident, and for other acts of insolence. Van Thienhoven having arrived there with the said troop, demanded satisfaction according to his orders. The troop wished to kill and plunder, which could not be permitted, as Van Thienhoven said he had no orders to do so. Finally, on account of the pertinacity of the troop, the said Van Thienhoven went away, protesting against any injury which should happen by reason of their disobedience and violation of orders; and, having gone a quarter of a mile, the troop killed several of the Indians, and brought the brother of the chief a prisoner, for whom Van Thienhoven had been surety before in eighty fathoms of *Zeewan*, otherwise he, too, must have been put to death. Whereupon the Indians, as will hereafter be related, killed four of my men, burned my house, and the house of David Pietersz De Vries.* I learned also from

* This is probably a mistake for Frederick de Vries.

Thienhoven that one Loockmans, standing on the mast, had misused the chief's brother . . . with a piece of wood, and that such acts of tyranny were perpetrated by the officers of the Company as were far from making friends with the inhabitants.

The 20th of October, I went with my sloop to Tapaen in order to trade for maize or Indian corn. I found the Company's sloop there for the purpose of levying a contribution from the Indian Christians, of a quantity of corn. The Indians called to me and inquired what I wanted. I answered that I desired to exchange cloth for corn. They said they could not help me. I must go up the river, and, should the Company's sloop in the mean time get away, they would then trade with me; that they were very much surprised that the Sachem, who was now at the Fort, dare exact it; and he must be a very mean fellow to come to this country without being invited by them, and now wish to compel them to give him their corn for nothing; that they had not raised it in great abundance, as one chief had generally but two women who planted corn, and that they had calculated only for their own necessities, and to barter some for cloth. So this affair began to cause much dissatisfaction among the Indians.

The 1st of December. I have begun to take hold of Vriesendale, as it was a fine place, situated along the river, under the mountains, and at an hour and a half's journey there is a valley where hay can be raised for two hundred head of cattle, and where there is thirty morgens of corn-land, and where I have sown wheat which grew higher than the tallest man in the country. Here were also two fine falls from the mountains, where two good mills could be erected for grinding corn and sawing plank. It was a beautiful and pleasant place for hunting deer, wild turkeys, and pigeons; but the evil of it was that, though I earnestly took hold of the place, I was not seconded by my partner, according to our agreement, who was Frederick De Vries, a manager of the Company, and who thought that colonies could be built up without men or means, as his idea was that Godyn, Gilliam* Van Rensselaer, Bloemart, and Jan de Laet had established their colonies with the means of the Company, which had brought there all the cattle and the farmers, and then the work began to progress. These persons were managers of the Company and commissioners of New Netherland, and helped themselves by the cunning tricks of mer-

* Kiliaen.

chants; and the Company, having about that time come into possession of Peter Heyn's booty, bestowed not a thought upon their best trading-post at Fort Orange, or whether they would make farms there or not; but these fellows, through Rensselaer, who was accustomed to refine pearls and diamonds, succeeded in taking it from the other managers—partners. Michael Pauw, discovering that they had appropriated the land at Fort Orange to themselves, immediately had the land lying opposite Fort Amsterdam, where the Indians are compelled to cross to the fort with their beavers, registered for himself, and called it Pavonia. The Company, seeing afterwards that they were affected, much contention and jealousy was caused among them, because they who undertook to plant colonies with their own money should have taken the property of the Company. Thus was the country kept by these disputes, so that it was not settled; for there were friends enough who would have peopled the country by patroonships, but they were always prevented by the contention of the managers, who were not willing to do anything themselves, for they would rather see booty arrive than to speak of their colonies; but, had the land been peopled, the fruit thereof would have been long continued, while their booty has vanished like smoke. There may be some managers and book-keepers who are well off by it, but it does no good to the community, as the cultivation of the soil where every one is well off, and there is a steady income, is better than all the booty which we see consumed in bawdy-houses; for where is now all the booty of which the Dunkirkers have robbed us, and also all the booty of Flushing, which was taken from the Portuguese? It has also vanished like smoke, and those privateers who have taken it have gone to naught. . . .

ANNO 1641. The 20th August, the ship Eyckenboom (Oak-tree) arrived here, in which came a person named Malyn, who said that Staten Island belonged to him, that it was given by the managers to him and to Heer Vander Horst, which I could not believe, as I had sailed in the year thirty-eight to take possession of said Island, and my men were now upon it. I thought better things of the managers than this, as the sixth article of privileges mentions that the first occupants shall not be prejudiced in their right of possession.

The 1st of September, my men on Staten Island were killed by the Indians; and the Raritans told an Indian, who worked for my people, that we might now come to fight them on account

of our men; that we had before come and treated them badly on account of the swine; that there had been laid to their charge what they were not guilty of, and what had been done by the Company's men when they were on their way to the South River, who came ashore on Staten Island to cut wood and haul water, and then at the same time stole the hogs, and charged the act upon the innocent Indians, who, although they are bad enough, will do you no harm if you do them none. Thus I lost the beginning of my colony on Staten Island, by the orders of Commander Kieft, who wished to charge upon the Indians what his own people had done.

The 2d of November, there came a chief of the Indians of Tankitekes, named Pacham, who was great with the governor of the fort. He came in great triumph, bringing a dead hand hanging on a stick, and saying that it was the hand of the chief who had killed or shot with arrows our men on Staten Island, and that he had taken revenge for our sake, because he loved the Swannakens (as they call the Dutch), who were his best friends.

The same day Commander Kieft asked me whether I would permit Malyn to go upon the point of Staten Island, where the maize-land lay, saying that he wished to let him plant it, and that he would place soldiers there, who would make a signal by raising a flag, to make known at the fort whenever ships were in the bay, to which I have consented,—but am not to be prejudiced thereby,—and to let him have twelve to fourteen or fifteen morgens of land, without abridging my right, as he intended to distil brandy and make goat's leather.

ANNO 1642. As I was daily with Commander Kieft, generally dining with him when I went to the fort, he told me that he had now had a fine inn, built of stone, in order to accommodate the English who daily passed with their vessels from New England to Virginia, from whom he suffered great annoyance, and who might now lodge in the tavern. I replied that it happened well for the travellers, but there was great want of a church, and that it was a scandal to us when the English passed there, and saw only a mean barn in which we preached; that the first thing which the English built, after their dwellings, was a fine church, and we ought to do so, too, as the West India Company was deemed to be a principal means of upholding the Reformed Religion against the tyranny of Spain, and had excellent material therefor,—namely, fine oak-wood, good mountain stone, and lime burnt of oyster shells, much better than our lime in

Holland. He then inquired who would superintend the work. I answered the lovers of the Reformed Religion who were truly so. He then said that I must be one of them, as I proposed it, and must give an hundred guilders. I told him that I was satisfied, and that he must be the first to give, as he was commander, and then elect Jochem Pietersz Kuyter, a devout person of the Reformed Religion, who had good workmen who would quickly prepare the timber, and also elect Damen, because he lived close by the fort; that we four, as church wardens, should undertake the work of building the church; that the commander should give several thousand guilders on behalf of the Company, and then it would immediately be seen whether the rest would be subscribed by the community; that the church should be built in the fort, to guard against any surprise by the Indians. Thus were the walls of the church speedily begun to be laid up with quarry-stone, and to be covered by the English carpenters with slate, or rather with oak-shingles, which, by exposure to the wind and rain, turn blue, and look as if they were slate.

About the same time a harmless Dutchman, named Claes Rademaker (wheelwright), was murdered by an Indian. He lived a short mile from the fort by the *Densel*-bay, where he had built a small house, and had set up the trade of wheelwright. It was on the road over which the Indians from Wickquasgeck passed daily. It happened that an Indian came to this Claes Rademaker for the purpose of trading beavers with him for duffels-cloth, which goods were in a chest. This chest he had locked up, and stooped down in order to take his goods out, when this murderer, the Indian, seeing that the man had his head bent over into the chest, and observing an axe standing behind him, seized the axe, and struck Claes Rademaker on the neck therewith, who fell down dead by the chest. The murderer then stole all the goods and ran off. The commander sent to Wickquasgeck to inquire why this Dutchman had been so shamefully murdered. The murderer answered that, while the fort was being built, he came with his uncle and another Indian to the freshwater, bringing beavers, in order to trade with the Dutchmen, that some Swannekes (as they call the Netherlanders) came there, took away from his uncle his beavers, and then killed him. He was then a small boy, and resolved, when he should grow up, he would revenge that deed upon the Dutch, and since then he had seen no better chance to do so than with Claes Rademaker. Thus these Indians resemble

the Italians, being very revengeful. Commander Kieft afterwards made an attempt to send some soldiers there, of whom Van Dyck, the ensign-bearer, had the command, but in consequence of the darkness of the night the guides missed the way, and arrived there too late in the day, so that the attempt failed, and they returned again without effecting anything. Another expedition against these Indians was subsequently sent, which also miscarried. When Commander Kieft saw that these expeditions against the Indians miscarried, and that trouble would follow, and found that the people began to reproach him with being himself safely protected in the fort, out of which he had not slept a single night during all the years he had been there, and with seeking the war in order to make a bad reckoning with the Company, and began to feel that the war would be laid to his charge, he called the people together to choose twelve men to aid him in the direction of the affairs of the country, of which number I was, as a patroon, chosen one. Commander Kieft then submitted the proposition whether we should avenge the murder of Claes Rademaker by declaring war upon the Indians or not. We answered that time and opportunity must be taken, as our cattle were running at pasture in the woods, and we were living far and wide, east, west, south, and north of each other; that we were not prepared to carry on a war with the Indians until we had more people, like the English, who make towns and villages. I told Commander Kieft that no profit was to be derived from a war with the Indians; that he was the means of my people being murdered at the colony which I had commanded on Staten Island in the year forty; and that I well knew that the managers did not desire a war waged against the Indians, for when we made our colony in the year 1630, in the South River at Swanendael, otherwise called Hoere-kil, our people were all murdered through some trifling acts of the commander whom we had stationed there, named Gilles Oset, as I have already mentioned in the beginning of my journal; that it was then proposed to the Company to make war upon the Indians, but the Company would not permit it, and replied that we must keep at peace with the Indians. This I related to Commander Kieft, but he would not listen to it. It becomes the managers to take care what persons they appoint as Directors, for thereon depends the welfare of the country. Were it the case that the East India Company had gone to work in the East Indies, as the West India Company here, they would soon have been there

like the West India Company; but in the East Indies they made no person commander of a fort, if he be not well acquainted with the country, and have knowledge of the people sufficiently. But commanders are sent here whether they be fit or not.

David Peterson de Vries, from whose "Short Historical and Journal Notes of Several Voyages made in the Four Parts of the World, namely, Europe, Africa, Asia, and America," the selection published in the present leaflet is taken, was born in 1593 at Rochelle in France, whither his father went from Hoorn, in Holland, after the assassination of William of Orange in 1584. When he was four years old, his parents returned with him to Holland. He appears to have been married about 1620. He made six voyages, the first to the Mediterranean for grain, the second (in 1620) to Newfoundland for fish, encountering great dangers on both voyages. In 1627 he commanded a fleet of seven ships to the East Indies, returning in 1630. In 1632, 1634, and 1638 he made voyages to New Netherland, being interested in planting a colony on Staten Island. He remained in New Netherland for several years, returning finally in 1644. "The 2d of May we obtained sight of England, and fourteen English Parliament ships met us. Our eleven prepared to fight them, supposing them to be the King's ships, but, on coming up to them, found them to be friends, and all sailed on quietly together. Ran along the English coast, and arrived the last of May in the Downs, where I tarried eight or ten days, and heard the shots which were fired before Greveling, which the King of France had besieged. The 15th of June I left the Downs for the Mase, and reached Goree on the morning of the 16th, where I hired a wagon to take me to Briel; and on the morning of the 17th I arrived at Rotterdam, where I stopped a day or two, and on the 21st of June, in the year 1644, by the mercy of Almighty God, arrived here within my paternal city of Hoorn, where I have an ancestry of two hundred years on the father's side, and at Amsterdam on my mother's side, and came to my house at three o'clock, for which our God must be eternally praised, that he should have brought me again to my fatherland, after such long and tedious voyages and through so many perils of savage heathens."

In 1655 he published at Alckmaer his "Short Historical and Journal Notes," "wherein are described what battles he has had by water; each country its animals, birds, kind of fishes and savage men,—counterfeited to the life,—and the woods and rivers with their products." He styles himself, on the title-page, "Ordnance-Master of the Most Noble Lords, the Committed Council of the States of West Friesland & the North Quarter." The volume was a small quarto of 192 pages, with a portrait of De Vries, and eighteen plates, twelve of them relating to the Indians and natural history of America. The sections describing the three voyages to New Netherland were translated by Henry C. Murphy, and published in the Collections of the New York Historical Society, Second Series, vol. iii., Part I., 1857; and from this translation the present leaflet is made up. "It is remarkable," says Mr. Murphy in his introduction, "that, after Hudson, only one of the numerous Dutch navigators and travellers has, as far as is known, published a journal or narrative of voyages to New Netherland during the possession of the country by their nation." "De Vries," he says, was "a bold and skilful seaman. He was a religious man, and held the strongest Calvinistic doctrines. His narratives, where he speaks from personal knowledge, are entitled to the highest credit, for not only do they bear internal evidence of truth, but they have been corroborated in many instances by other evidence and by the records which we have; and, being his daily observations, taken down at the time, they have from this circumstance a value which no narrative formed from memory could possess. . . . His relation of the disgraceful and disastrous Indian war [1643], in which he was an actor and a friend of the Indians, is the only authentic one extant of any completeness, except that of the government, and is therefore of great interest and value."

The passage printed in the present leaflet, taken from De Vries's account of his third visit to New Netherland, is interesting, not only for its glimpses of New Amsterdam, but also of the Dutch and Indian life on the Hudson as far as Albany, and of the English settlement at the mouth of the Connecticut,—the "Fresh River." This description of New Netherland—the portion here printed—relates to the years 1630-42. Adrian van der Donck's description, a portion of which is published in Old South Leaflet, No. 60, relates to the years immediately following. It was published at Amsterdam the very year (1655) that De Vries's book was published at Alckmaer. See the original account by Juet of the discovery of the Hudson River in 1609, in Old South Leaflet, No. 04. See the bibliography by Berthold Fernow appended to his chapter on New Netherland, in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. iv.

Holland merchants sent a second expedition to the Hudson River, which they called the Mauritius after Prince Maurice, in 1610, the year after Hudson's discovery. In 1612

three merchants of Amsterdam sent two vessels under the command of Hendrick Christiaensen and Adriaen Block; and the next year other vessels came, and a few huts were built near the southern point of Manhattan Island. This was the beginning of the city of New York. At the same time Christiaensen built a fort on the west bank of the Hudson, a little below the site of Albany, and called it Fort Nassau. In 1614 the States-General of Holland granted a charter to a company for trade in New Netherland, and this Dutch company framed the first treaty with the Indians. The Pilgrim Fathers originally planned to join the Dutch in New Netherland, but instead settled at Plymouth in 1620. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was chartered, and under its auspices the settlement of New Netherland proceeded more rapidly. In 1626 Peter Minuit came out as director-general. Minuit purchased the entire island of Manhattan from the Indians for about twenty-four dollars; and large estates were secured along the Hudson by the "patroons." In 1633 Wouter van Twiller was appointed director-general; and De Vries's first and second visits to New Amsterdam were in his time. See account of De Vries's controversy with Van Twiller, based upon the record of the first visit, in Fiske's "The Dutch and Quaker Colonies," i. 145, and in Roberts's "New York," in the "American Commonwealths" series. In these works the student can follow the history of New Netherland down to its conquest by the English and the change of its name to New York.

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The New England Confederation.

1643.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION BETWEENE YE PLANTATIONS UNDER YE GOVERMENTE OF MASSACHUSETS, YE PLANTATIONS UNDER YE GOVERMENTE OF NEW-PLIMOTH, YE PLANTATIONS UNDER YE GOVERMENTE OF CONIGHTECUTE, AND YE GOVERMENTE OF NEW-HAVEN, WITH YE PLANTATIONS IN COMBINATION THERWITH.

Wheras we all came into these parts of America with one and y^e same end and aime, namly, to advance the kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, & to injoye y^e liberties of y^e Gospell in puritie with peace; and wheras in our setling (by a wise providence of God) we are further disperced upon y^e sea coasts and rivers then was at first intended, so y^t we cannot, according to our desires, with conveniencie communicate in one govermente & jurisdiction; and wheras we live encompassed with people of severall nations and strang languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and our posteritie; and for as much as y^e natives have formerly comitted sundrie insolencies and outrages upon severall plantations of y^e English, and have of late combined them selves against us; and seeing, by reason of those distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered from y^t humble way of seeking advice or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expecte; we therfore doe conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a presente consociation amongst our selves, for mutuall help & strength in all our future concerns. That as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we

be & continue one, according to y^e tenor and true meaning of the insuing articles. (1) Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded by & betweene y^e parties or jurisdictions above named, and they joyntly & severally doe by these presents agree & conclude, that they all be and henceforth be called by y^e name of The United Colonies of New-England.

2. The said United Collonies, for them selves & their posterities, doe joyntly & severally hereby enter into a firme & perpetuall league of frendship & amitie, for offence and defence, mutuall advice and succore upon all just occasions, both for preserving & propagating y^e truth of y^e Gospell, and for their owne mutuall saftie and wellfare.

3. It is further agreed that the plantations which at presente are or hereafter shall be settled with [in] y^e limites of y^e Massachusetts shall be for ever under y^e Massachusetts, and shall have peculier jurisdiction amonge them selves in all cases, as an intire body. And y^t Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New-Haven shall each of them have like peculier jurisdiction and govermente within their limites and in refference to y^e plantations which already are settled, or shall hereafter be erected, or shall settle within their limites, respectively; provided y^t no other jurisdiction shall hereafter be taken in, as a distincte head or member of this confederation, nor shall any other plantation or jurisdiction in presente being, and not allready in combination or under y^e jurisdiction of any of these confederats, be received by any of them; nor shall any tow of y^e confederats joyne in one jurisdiction, without consente of y^e rest, which consente to be interpreted as is expressed in y^e sixte article ensewing.

4. It is by these conffederats agreed, y^t the charge of all just warrs, whether offensive or defensive, upon what parte or member of this confederation soever they fall, shall, both in men, provisions, and all other disbursements, be borne by all y^e parts of this confederation, in differente proportions, according to their differente abillities, in maner following: namely, y^t the comissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time, as ther shall be occasion, bring a true accounte and number of all their males in every plantation, or any way belonging too or under their severall jurisdictions, of what qualitie or condition soever they be, from 16. years old to 60. being inhabitants ther; and y^t according to y^e differente numbers which from time to time shall be found in each jurisdiction upon a true & just accounte, the service of men and all charges of y^e warr be borne by y^e pole; each jurisdiction

or plantation being left to their owne just course & custome of rating them selves and people according to their differente estates, with due respects to their qualities and exemptions amongst them selves, though the confederats take no notice of any such priviledg. And y^t according to their differente charge of each jurisdiction & plantation, the whole advantage of y^e warr, (if it please God to blesse their indeaours,) whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionately devided amonge y^e said confederats.

5. It is further agreed, that if these jurisdictions, or any plantation under or in combynacion with them, be invaded by any enemie whomsoever, upon notice & requeste of any 3. magistrats of y^t jurisdiction so invaded, y^e rest of y^e confederats, without any further meeting or expostulation, shall forthwith send ayde to y^e confederate in danger, but in differente proportion; namely, y^e Massachusetts an hundred men sufficiently armed & provided for such a service and journey, and each of y^e rest forty five so armed and provided, or any lesser number, if less be required according to this proportion. But if such confederate in danger may be supplied by their nexte confederates, not exceeding y^e number hereby agreed, they may crave help ther, and seeke no further for y^e presente; y^e charge to be borne as in this article is exprest, and at y^e returne to be victuled & suplyed with powder & shote for their jurney (if ther be need) by y^t jurisdiction which imployed or sent for them. But none of y^e jurisdictions to exceede these numbers till, by a meeting of y^e comissioners for this confederation, a greater aide appear nessessarie. And this proportion to continue till upon knowledge of greater numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to y^e nexte meeting, some other proportion be ordered. But in such case of sending men for presente aide, whether before or after such order or alteration, it is agreed y^t at y^e meeting of y^e comissioners for this confederation, the cause of such warr or invasion be duly considered; and if it appeare y^t the falte lay in y^e parties so invaded, y^t then that jurisdiction or plantation make just satisfaction both to y^e invaders whom they have injured, and beare all y^e charges of y^e warr them selves, without requiring any allowance from y^e rest of y^e confederats towards y^e same. And further, y^t if any jurisdiction see any danger of any invasion approaching, and ther be time for a meeting, that in such a case 3. magistrats of y^t jurisdiction may sumone a meeting, at such conveniente place as them selves shall thinke meete, to consider & provid against y^e threatened danger, provided when they are mett, they

may remove to what place they please; only, whilst any of these foure confederats have but 3 magistrats in their jurisdiction, their requeste, or summons, from any 2. of them shall be accounted of equall force with y^e 3. mentioned in both the clauses of this article, till ther be an increase of majestrats ther.

6. It is also agreed y^t, for y^e managing & concluding of all affairs propper, & concerning the whole confederation, tow comissioners shall be chosen by & out of each of these 4. jurisdictions; namely, 2. for y^e Massachusets, 2. for Plimoth, 2. for Conightecutt, and 2. for New-Haven, being all in church fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their severall Generall Courts respectively to hear, examene, waigh, and detirmine all affairs of warr, or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for warr, divisions of spoyles, & whatsoever is gotten by conquest; receiving of more confederats, or plantations into combination with any of y^e confederates, and all things of like nature, which are y^e proper concomitants or consequences of such a confederation, for amitie, offence, & defence; not intermedling with y^e govermente of any of y^e jurisdictions, which by y^e 3. article is preserved entirely to them selves. But if these 8. comissioners when they meete shall not all agree, yet it concluded that any 6. of the 8. agreeing shall have power to settle & determine y^e bussines in question. But if 6. doe not agree, that then such propositions, with their reasons, so farr as they have been debated, be sente, and referred to y^e 4. Generall Courts, viz. y^e Massachusets, Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New-haven; and if at all y^e said Generall Courts y^e bussines so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by y^e confederats, and all their members. It was further agreed that these 8. comissioners shall meete once every year, besids extraordinarie meetings, (according to the fiftie article,) to consider, treat, & conclude of all affaires belonging to this confederation, which meeting shall ever be y^e first Thursday in September. And y^t the next meeting after the date of these presents, which shall be accounted y^e second meeting, shall be at Boston in y^e Massachusets, the 3. at Hartford, the 4. at New-Haven, the 5. at Plimoth, and so in course successively, if in y^e meane time some midle place be not found out and agreed on, which may be comodious for all y^e jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed, y^t at each meeting of these 8. comissioners, whether ordinarie, or extraordinary, they all 6. of them agreeing as before, may chuse a presidente out of them selves, whose office & work shall be to take care and directe for order,

and a comly carrying on of all proceedings in y^e present meeting; but he shall be invested with no such power or respecte, as by which he shall hinder y^e propounding or progrese of any business, or any may cast y^e scailes otherwise then in y^e precedente article is agreed.

8. It is also agreed, y^t the comissioners for this confederation hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinarie, as they may have comission or opportunitie, doe indeaover to frame and establish agreements & orders in generall cases of a civill nature, wherin all y^e plantations are interessed, for y^e preserving of peace amongst them selves, and preventing as much as may be all occasions of warr or difference with others; as aboute y^e free & speedy passage of justice, in every jurisdiction, to all y^e confederats equally as to their owne; not receiving those y^t remove from one plantation to another without due certificate; how all y^e jurisdictions may carry towards y^e Indeans, that they neither growe insolente, nor be injured without due satisfaction, least warr breake in upon the confederats through such miscarriages. It is also agreed, y^t if any servante rune away from his maister into another of these confederated jurisdictions, that in such case, upon y^e certificate of one magistrate in y^e jurisdiction out of which y^e said servante fledd, or upon other due prooffe, the said servante shall be delivered, either to his maister, or any other y^t pursues & brings such certificate or prooffe. And y^t upon y^e escape of any prisoner whatsoever, or fugitive for any criminall cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from y^e officer, or otherwise escaping, upon y^e certificate of 2. magistrates of y^e jurisdiction out of which y^e escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at y^e time of y^e escape, they magistrates, or sume of them of y^t jurisdiction wher for y^e presente the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grante such a warrante as y^e case will beare, for y^e apprehending of any such person, & y^e delivering of him into y^e hands of y^e officer, or other person who pursues him. And if ther be help required, for y^e safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted to him y^t craves y^e same, he paying the charges thereof.

9. And for y^t the justest warrs may be of dangerous consequence, espetially to y^e smaler plantations in these United Colonies, it is agreed y^t neither y^e Massachusetts, Plimoth, Conigh-tecutt, nor New-Haven, nor any member of any of them, shall at any time hear after begine, undertake, or ingage them selves or this confederation, or any parte thereof, in any warr whatsoever,

(sudden * exegents, with y^e necessary consequents thereof expected, which are also to be moderated as much as y^e case will permitte,) without y^e consente and agremente of y^e forementioned 8. comissioners, or at y^e least 6. of them, as in y^e sixt article provided. And y^t no charge be required of any of they confederats, in case of a defensive warr, till y^e said comissioners have mett, and approved y^e justice of y^e warr, and have agreed upon y^e sume of money to be levied, which sume is then to be paid by the severall confederats in proportion according to y^e fourth article.

10. That in extraordinary occasions, when meetings are summoned by three magistrates of any jurisdiction, or 2. as in y^e 5. article, if any of y^e comissioners come not, due warning being given or sente, it is agreed y^t 4. of the comissioners shall have power to directe a warr which cannot be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as well as 6. might doe if all mett; but not less then 6. shall determine the justice of y^e warr, or alow y^e demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for y^e same.

11. It is further agreed, y^t if any of y^e confederats shall hereafter breake any of these presente articles, or be any other ways injurious to any one of y^e other jurisdictions, such breach of agremente or injurie shall be duly considered and ordered by y^e comissioners for y^e other jurisdiction; that both peace and this presente confederation may be intirly preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetuall confederation, and y^e severall articles thereof being read, and seriously considered, both by y^e Generall Courte for y^e Massachusetts, and by y^e comissioners for Plimoth, Conigtecute, & New-Haven, were fully alowed & confirmed by 3. of y^e forenamed confederats, namely, y^e Massachusetts, Conightecutt, and New-Haven; only y^e comissioners for Plimoth haveing no coñission to conclude, desired respite till they might advise with their Generall Courte; wher upon it was agreed and concluded by y^e said Courte of y^e Massachusetts, and the comissioners for y^e other tow confederats, that, if Plimoth consente, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present articles is, and shall continue, firme & stable without alteration. But if Plimoth come not in, yet y^e other three confederats doe by these presents confeirme y^e whole confederation, and y^e articles therof; only in September nexte, when y^e second meeting of y^e comissioners is to be at Boston, new consideration may be taken of y^e 6. article, which concerns number of comissioners for meeting

* Substituted for *sundry* on the authority of the original MS. records.

& concluding the affaires of this confederation, to y^e satisfaction of y^e Courte of y^e Massachusetts, and y^e comissioners for y^e other 2. confederats, but y^e rest to stand unquestioned. In y^e testimonie wherof, y^e Generall Courte of y^e Massachusetts, by ther Secretary, and y^e comissioners for Conightecutt and New-Haven, have subscribed these presente articles this 19. of y^e third month, comonly called May, Anno Dom: 1643.

At a meeting of y^e comissioners for y^e confederation held at Boston y^e 7. of Sept: it appearing that the Generall Courte of New-Plimoth, and y^e severall townshipes therof, have read & considered & approved these articles of confederation, as appeareth by comission from their Generall Courte bearing date y^e 29. of August, 1643. to M^r. Edward Winslow and M^r. William Collier, to ratifie and confirme y^e same on their behalves. We, therfore, y^e Comissioners for y^e Massachusetts, Conightecutt, & New Haven, doe also, for our severall governments, subscribe unto them.

JOHN WINTHROP, Gov^r. of y^e Massachusest.

THO: DUDLEY.

THEOPH: EATON.

GEO: FENWICK.

EDWA: HOPKINS.

THOMAS GREGSON.

The plan of this confederation appears to have originated with Connecticut, who was anxious to strengthen herself against encroachments from the Dutch. In August, 1637, after the close of the Pequot war, some of the ministers and magistrates of that colony came to Boston to attend the synod called to consider the theological errors spread through the country by the Antinomians. While they were here, a meeting was appointed "to agree upon some articles of confederation, and notice was given to Plymouth that they might join in it; but their warning was so short as they could not come." Nothing, therefore, was done, and the matter rested until June, 1638, when a plan of confederation was partially agreed on; but this plan finally failed to obtain the necessary ratifications. It was afterward claimed by Massachusetts, and denied by Connecticut, that the chief obstacle was the levying of a duty by the latter on vessels passing the fort at Saybrook. At the close of the negotiations the Deputy-Governor of Connecticut wrote a letter in the name of their Court, which Winthrop characterizes as so harsh in its tone as to preclude a reply; but, in order to prevent an open rupture, the latter wrote a private letter to the Governor of Connecticut, stating our view of the case, and pointing out the mistakes of the Connecticut authorities. Commenting on this transaction he adds: "These and the like miscarriages in point of correspondency were conceived to arise from these two errors in their government: (1) They chose divers scoresmen who had no learning nor judgment which might fit them for those affairs, though otherwise holy and religious. (2) By occasion hereof the main burden for managing of State business fell upon some one or other of their ministers (as the phrase

and style of these letters will clearly discover), who, though they were men of singular wisdom and godliness, yet, stepping out of their course, their actions wanted that blessing which otherwise might have been expected." The scheme was again revived in the early part of the following year, when Haynes, the Governor of Connecticut, Hooker, her most prominent minister, and others came to Boston, and stayed a month. They were unwilling, however, to move in the matter, though the idea of union was favorably entertained by Massachusetts; and again it failed to be consummated.

Here the matter stood until September, 1642, when Connecticut sent new propositions for forming a confederacy. These propositions were referred to the magistrates in and near Boston, and to the deputies from Boston and the neighboring towns, to confer with any commissioners from Plymouth, Connecticut, or New Haven, and to take such action as might be thought necessary, "so as they enter not into an offensive war without order of this Court." Winter was then approaching, and nothing more was done until the following spring; but at the General Court in May, 1643, commissioners appeared from Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, accompanied by George Fenwick, of Saybrook. On their arrival the General Court appointed a committee, consisting of the Governor and five others, "to treat with our friends of Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth, about a confederacy between us." The result of the discussions was that, in two or three meetings, articles of union were agreed on, and signed by all the commissioners except those from Plymouth, who were only authorized to treat, but not to sign any agreement. The articles of confederation were then submitted to the Courts of the several colonies and duly ratified by them. The settlements in Maine under the patent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges "were not received nor called into the confederation," says Winthrop, "because they ran a different course from us both in their ministry and civil administration." Probably not one of the colonies would have been willing to unite with Rhode Island. Early in 1642 Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, wrote to Bellingham, the Governor of Massachusetts: "Concerning the Islanders, we have no conversing with them, nor desire to have, further than necessity or humanity may require." Massachusetts had already declared her unwillingness to join with Rhode Island in any confederacy.

The act of union bears the date of May 19, 1643, Old Style, and recites in words that ought not to be forgotten the reasons which moved the colonies to take this important step,—the precedent for a far more important union which separated a larger confederation from the mother country. . . . Then followed eleven articles, commonly counted with the preamble as twelve. . . .

These articles were signed on the 19th of May, Old Style, by the Secretary in behalf of the General Court of Massachusetts, and by the commissioners for Connecticut and New Haven. Subsequently the articles were approved by the General Court of Plymouth, and by all the townships in that colony; and by an order dated the 29th of August Edward Winslow and William Collyer were authorized to ratify them, and were appointed commissioners for Plymouth. The 19th of May, however, was regarded by all parties as the date of the formation of the confederacy; and in 1843, the 29th of May, which is the corresponding date, as we reckon time, was selected by the Massachusetts Historical Society for their bi-centennial celebration of this great event in New England history.

The second meeting of the commissioners was held in Boston, Sept. 7, 1643. After the transaction of some formal business they took up the

matter of the war between Uncas and Miantinimo, reaching the very harsh conclusion "that Uncas cannot be safe while Miantinimo lives, but that either by secret treachery or open force his life will be still in danger. Wherefore they think he may justly put such a false and bloodthirsty enmity to death, but in his own jurisdiction, not in the English plantations; and advising that in the manner of his death all mercy and moderation be shown, contrary to the practice of the Indians, who exercise tortures and cruelty." The commissioners then recommended that each General Court should see that every man kept by him a good gun and sword, one pound of powder, four pounds of shot, and suitable match or flints, to be examined at least four times a year, and that each colony also should keep a stock of powder, shot, and match; that there should be a uniform standard of measure throughout all the plantations in the United Colonies; and that there should be at least six training-days yearly in every plantation. They then determined the proportion of men to be furnished by each colony in any present danger; and, taking into consideration the complaints against Gorton and his company, the commissioners declared that, if Gorton and his followers stubbornly refused to obey the summons of the General Court of Massachusetts, the magistrates of that colony might proceed against them with the full approval and concurrence of the other jurisdictions, provided nothing was done prejudicial to the land-claims of Plymouth. Finally, it was ordered that letters should be written to the Dutch and Swedish governors, complaining of the injuries done to the Hartford and New Haven men at Delaware Bay and elsewhere.

Meetings of the commissioners were held annually, and sometimes more frequently, for upward of twenty years; but in September, 1664,—a few weeks after the arrival of the Royal Commissioners sent over by Charles II.,—it was ordered that henceforth the meetings should be held only once in three years. At the same time provision was made that the number of the commissioners should be reduced, in case the Connecticut and New Haven colonies should be united under one government. Six years afterward, at a meeting held in Boston in June, 1670, the articles of agreement were renewed, again entered on the record, and ordered to be presented to the several General Courts. In the new compact the order of the articles was changed, some new provisions were inserted, and some of the powers heretofore exercised by the commissioners were transferred to the General Courts of the United Colonies. Hartford and New Haven having been consolidated under the charter granted by Charles II., in 1662, the number of commissioners was reduced to six. They were to meet only once in three years; and, of every five regular meetings, two were to be held in Boston, two in Hartford, and one in Plymouth. But the strength and glory of the old Confederacy had departed, and the new union had only a short existence. The commissioners met in September, 1672, and formally ratified these articles; and they met also in the following year, on a special call from the governor and magistrates of Connecticut, in consequence of the capture of New York by the Dutch. Their only other meetings were in 1675, 1678, 1679, 1681, and 1684. Their last act was the issuing of a recommendation to the several colonial governments for the appointment of the 22d of October, 1684, as a day of solemn humiliation, "to the end that we may meet together in united prayers at the Throne of Grace, for the more effectual promoting of the work of general reformation, so long discoursed of amongst ourselves (but greatly delayed); and that we may obtain the favor of God

for a farther lengthening out of our tranquility, under the shadow of our Sovereign Lord the King; and that God would preserve his life and establish his crown in righteousness and peace, for the defence of the Protestant religion in all his dominions." The death of that worthless sovereign a few months afterward, the accession of James II., and the appointment of Sir Edmund Andros as governor of all New England put an end to the New England Confederacy. With the expulsion of Andros, who imitated on a narrower field the tyrannical acts which led to the expulsion of James II. from England, the colonies resumed their charter governments; but the Confederacy was not revived. It had accomplished the purpose for which it was formed; but it was never a strong organization, and it had the inherent defects of every simple confederation. Even if the growing jealousy of the colonies which existed in the mother country would have permitted its re-establishment, public opinion on this side of the ocean was not yet ripe for the formation of a union in any considerable degree free from the interference and control of the colonial legislatures. In its early days, however, the Confederacy had exerted a powerful influence in making the colonies feared and respected by their Dutch and French neighbors, and by the Indians within their own borders.—*Charles C. Smith, in Memorial History of Boston.*

In the analysis of this institution, we perceive, first, the exercise of sovereign power in its highest attributes. It is a league offensive and defensive between four separate communities, independent of each other, for the management of their common concerns, involving peace and war, and all those relations of intercourse in peace with other tribes or communities in which the interest of all the confederates was concerned. Every other object of government was reserved exclusively to the separate jurisdictions. The distribution of power between the commissioners of the whole confederacy and the separate governments of the colonies was made upon the same identical principles with those which gathered and united the thirteen English colonies, as the prelude to the revolution which severed them forever from their national connection with Great Britain. The New England confederacy of 1643 was the model and prototype of the North American confederacy of 1774. In neither of the two cases was the measure authorized or sanctioned by the charters of the several colonies parties to the compact. In both cases it was the great law of nature and of nature's God,—the law of self-preservation and self-defence, which invested the parties, as separate communities, with power to pledge their mutual faith for the common defence and general welfare of all. The New England colonists, conscious of this self-assumed sovereignty, expressly allege the *sad distractions* of their mother country, depriving them of her protection, and encouraging their enemies to combine for their destruction, as concurring with the other causes to impose upon them the duty of rallying all their energies for their own defence. The North American colonies, for the same assumption of sovereign power, appealed to their chartered rights as Britons,—and, finding that appeal fruitless and vain, to their natural rights as men, bestowed upon them by their Creator at their birth, and unextinguishable by human hands or human institutions. The compact of the New England colonies, without the sanction of their sovereign, was yet not against him. The union of the North American colonies turned the artillery of sovereignty against the sovereign himself, and demolished the throne of the oppressor with ordnance drawn from his own arsenals. . . .

The New England confederacy was confined to the Puritan emigration from England. Its elements were all homogeneous in their nature, and its professed design to continue them *one* in political organization, as they were in nation and religion, was of no difficult achievement. Yet the New England confederacy was destined to a life of less than forty years' duration. Its history, like that of other confederacies, presents a record of incessant discord,—of encroachments by the most powerful party upon the weaker members, and of disregard, by all the separate members, of the conclusions adopted by the whole body. Still, the main purpose of the union was accomplished. The concerted organization of the Indian tribes was counteracted and defeated for the space of at least thirty years, during which period the united colonies had been growing in strength, which brought them triumphant out of the fiery ordeal of Philip's war. Nearly contemporaneous with that event was the dissolution of the New England union. In the progress towards that issue the condition of the parties to the confederacy had materially changed. The colony of New Haven had been voluntarily merged in that of Connecticut,—the high contracting parties had sunk one of their number. The commissioners were only six instead of eight; and for the last twenty years their meetings, instead of being annual, were held only once in three years. The final dissolution of the confederacy was effected by the tyranny of James the Second, in seizing and vacating the charter of the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies; but even before that act it would seem that for six or seven years not even the triennial meetings had been held. The last meeting of the commissioners, as appears in Mr. Hazard's excellent collection of their records, bears date in March, 1678.

Of the North American confederacy, self-constituted in the progress of the revolution which converted the thirteen English colonies into independent states, New England forms a constituent part,—at that time, perhaps, transcending in power and importance all the rest, but, in the gradual lapse of time, by the relative rapidity in growth of other parts of the Union, and especially by the accession of new members of different origin, now greatly reduced and daily declining in her influence as a component part of the Union. She has, indeed, in a great degree, insensibly lost her distinctive character: divided into six separate States, and covering a surface of territory and an amount of population scarcely equal to that of the single State of New York, the connection of her States has no closer cement of institution or of intimacy than with the other States of the whole Union. The intensely religious feelings and prejudices of her infancy have given way to universal toleration, and a liberality of doctrine bordering upon the other extreme of a faltering faith. New England, as a community, has, by her incorporation in the North American Union, lost her distinctive character, and to a superficial observer little remains of her but the name. As a portion of the great community of the North American Union, the unity and simplicity of her character, without being totally extinguished, have been transformed into one component part of a stupendous republican empire,—an empire already bounded only by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and, to the eye of prophetic inspiration, to be hereafter bounded only by the eternal ice of the northern and southern pole.

We have been told that it was a day-dream of our Puritan forefathers, the first settlers of New England, that they were destined to be the founders of

such an empire. The foundation upon which *they* held this edifice was to be erected was the natural equality of mankind, and the two eternal pillars upon which it was to stand were *civil* and *religious* liberty. The natural equality of mankind, a doctrine which they imbibed from the sacred fountain of the Scriptures, taught in the history of the creation, and forming the foundation of the religion of Jesus, settled it forever that this empire must be that kingdom of Christ against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. For this foundation, the natural equality of mankind,—and for these two pillars, civil and religious liberty,—the North American Union, to whatever extent of dominion and whatever succession of ages destined to endure, will be forever indebted to the Puritan fathers of New England. Let our prayer ascend to Heaven, and our energies on earth be applied, to improve and perpetuate the blessings left by them as our inheritance “to the last syllable of recorded time.”—*John Quincy Adams, in Address before the Massachusetts Historical Society, May 29, 1843, the second centennial of the New England Confederation.*

The history of the New England Confederation is briefly but clearly outlined in Charles C. Smith's valuable article on “Boston and the Neighboring Jurisdictions,” in the first volume of the Memorial History of Boston, cited above, to which with its careful notes the student is referred. The address on the New England Confederacy of 1643, by John Quincy Adams, given before the Massachusetts Historical Society on the second centennial of the formation of the Confederacy, is printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Third Series, vol. ix., 1846. See Palfrey's History of New England, vol. i. chap. xv. and vol. ii. chap. i., for a very careful survey. See also Bancroft, vol. i. chap. xviii., “The United Colonies of New England”; Fiske's “Beginnings of New England,” chap. iv.; and Frothingham's “Rise of the Republic,” chap. ii. Frothingham's discussion is very valuable as treating the New England Confederation in its relation to the subsequent federative movements in America. In this connection see Old South Leaflets, No. 9, Franklin's Plan of Union; 2, The Articles of Confederation; and 1, The Constitution of the United States. The Articles of the New England Confederation are reprinted in the present leaflet from the text in Bradford's History of Plymouth, under the year 1643, where the student should read the accompanying comments. See also in Winthrop's History, where the steps leading to the Confederation are more fully shown. The articles are given in the Plymouth Colony Records and elsewhere, the texts slightly varying. See bibliographical notes to Smith's article mentioned above, also in Winsor's *America*, vol. iii.

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Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland.

A RELATION OF THE SUCCESSEFULL BEGINNINGS OF THE LORD
BALTEMORE'S PLANTATION IN MARY-LAND; BEING AN EX-
TRACT OF CERTAINE LETTERS WRITTEN FROM THENCE, BY
SOME OF THE ADVENTURERS TO THEIR FRIENDS IN ENGLAND.
ANNO DOMINI 1634.

On *Friday* the 22 of November 1633, a small gale of winde
comming gently from the Northwest, weighed from the *Cowes*,
in the *Ile of Wight*, about ten in the morning; & (hauing stayed
by the way twenty dayes at the *Barbada's*, and fourteene dayes
at *S^t Christophers*, vpon some necessary occasions,) wee arrived
at *Point-Comfort* in *Virginia*, on the 24. of *February* following,
the Lord be praised for it. At this time one *Captaine Claybourne*
was come from parts where wee intended to plant, to *Virginia*,
and from him wee vnderstood, that all the natiues of these parts
were in preparation of defence, by reason of a rumour some-
body had raised amongst them, of sixe ships that were come with
a power of *Spanyards*, whose meaning was to driue all the in-
habitants out of the Countrey.

Wee had good letters from his Maiesty to the Gouvernour and
Councill of *Virginia*, which made him fauor vs and shew vs as
noble vsage as the place afforded, with promise, that for their
Cattel and Hoggs, Corne and Poultry, our plantation should
not want the open way to furnish ourselues from thence: He
told vs likewise, That when his Lordship should be resolued
on a conuenient place to make himself a seat. he should be able
to prouide him with as much Bricke and Tile as he should haue
occasion to imploy, vntill his Lordship had made of his own:

Also, that he had to furnish his Lordship with two or three hundred stocks ready grafted with Peares, Apples, Plummes, Apricotes, Figgs, and Peaches, and some Cherries: That he had also some Orange and Limon trees in the grounds which yet thriued; Also Filberds, Hazel-nuts and Almonds; and in one place of the Colony, Quince-trees, wherewith he could furnish his Lordship; and, in fine, that his Lordship should not want any thing that Colony had.

On the 3. of *March* wee came into *Chesapeake* Bay, and made sayle to the North of *Patoemeck* riuer, the Bay running betweene two sweete lands in the channell of 7. 8. and 9 fathome deepe, 10 leagues broad, and full of fish at the time of the yeere; It is one of the delightfulest waters I euer saw, except *Potoemeck*, which wee named *S^t. Gregories*. And now being in our own Countrey, wee began to giue names to places, and called the Southerne Pointe, *Cape Saint Gregory*; and the Northerly Point, *Saint Michaels*.

This riuer, of all I know, is the greatest and sweetest, much broader than the *Thames*; so pleasant, as I for my part, was neuer satisfied in beholding it. Few marshes or swamps, but the greatest part sollid good earth, with great Curiosity of woods which are not Choaked vp with vnder-shrubbes, but set commonly one from the other in such distance, as a Coach and foure horses may easily trauell through them.

At the first loaming of the ship vpon the river, wee found (as was foretold vs) all the Countrey in Armes. The King of the *Paschattowayes* had drawn together 1500 bowe-men, which wee ourselues saw, the woods were fired in manner of beacons the night after; and for that our vessell was the greatest that euer those Indians saw, the scowtes reported wee came in a Canoa, as bigge as an Island, and had as many men as there bee trees in the woods.

Wee sayled vp the river till wee came to *Heron* Ilands, so called from the infinite swarmes of that fowle there. The first of those Ilands we called *Saint Clement's*: The second *Saint Katharine's*; And the third, *Saint Cicilie's*. We took land first in *Saint Clement's*, which is compassed about with a shallow water, and admitts no accesse without wading; here by the ouerturning of the Shallop, the maids which had been washing at the land were almost drowned, beside the losse of much linnen, and amongst the rest, I lost the best of mine which is a very maine losse in these parts. The ground is couered thicke with pokickeries

(which is a wild Wall-nut very hard and thick of shell; but the meate (though little) is passing sweete,) with black Wall-nuts, and acorns bigger than Ours. It abounds with Vines and Salletts, hearbs and flowers, full of Cedar and Sassafras. It is but 400 acres bigg, & therefore too little for vs to settle vpon.

Heere we went to a place, where a large tree was made into a Crosse; and taking it on our shoulders, wee carried it to the place appointed for it. The Gouvernour and Commissioners putting their hands first vnto it, then the rest of the chiefest aduenturers. At the place prepared wee all kneeled downe, & said certain Prayers; taking possession of the Countrey for our Saviour, and for our soueraigne Lord the King of *England*.

Here our Gouvernour had good aduice giuen him, not to land for good and all, before hee had beene with the Emperour of *Paschattoway*, and had declared vnto him the Cause of our coming: Which was first to learne them a diuine Doctrine, which would lead their Soules to a place of happinesse after this life were ended; And also, to enrich them with such Ornaments of a ciuill life wherewith our Countrey doth abound: and this Emperour being satisfied, none of the inferiour Kings would stirre. In conformity to this aduice, hee took two Pinnaces, his owne, and another hired in *Virginia*; and leauing the Ship before Saint *Clements* at Anchor, went vp the river and landing on the South Side, and finding the Indians fled for feare, came to Potoemack Towne, when the King being a child, Archihau his vnclie gouerned both him and his Countrey for him. Hee gaue all the Company good Well-come: & one of the Company hauing entered into a little discourse with him touching the errours of their religion, hee seemed well pleased therewith; & at his going away desired him to return vnto him againe, telling him hee should liue at his Table, his men should hunt for him, and hee would diuide all with him.

From hence they went to *Paschattoway*. All were heere armed: 500 Bow-men came to the Water-side. The Emperour himself more fearlesse than the rest, came priuately aboard, where he was courteously entertained; and vnderstanding wee came in a peaceable manner, bade vs welcome, and gaue vs leaue to sit downe in what place of his Kingdome wee pleased. While this King was aboard, All the Indians came to the Water-side, fearing treason, wherevpon two of the King's men, that attended him in our shippe were appointed to row on shoare to quit them of this feare: but they refusing to goe for feare of the popular fury;

the interpretours standing on the Deck shewed the King to them that hee was in safety, where-with they were satisfied. In this iourney the Gouvernour entertained Captaine *Henry Fleete* & his three barkes; who accepted a proportion in beauer trade to serue vs, being skillfull in the tongue, & well beloued of the natives.

Whilst the Gouvernour was abroad the *Indians* began to lay aside feare, & to come to our Court of guard, which wee kept night and day vpon Saint *Clements'* Ile: partly to defend our Barge, which was brought in pieces out of *England*, & there made vp, and partly to defend the Captaines men, which were employed in felling of trees, and cleaning pales for the pallizado: and at last they ventured to come aboard our ship. It was worth the hearing for those who vnderstood them to heare what admiration at our ship; Calling it a Canow, and wondering where so great a tree grew that made it, conceiuing it to bee made of one piece, as their Canows are. Our great Ordnance was a great & fearefull thunder, they had neuer heard any before; all the Countrey trembles at them.

The Gouvernour being returned, wee Came some nine leagues lower to a riuer on the North Side of that land, as bigg as the *Thames*: which wee called Saint *Gregorie's* river. It runs vp to the North about 20 miles before it comes to the fresh. This river makes two excellent Bayes, for 300 sayle of Shippes of 1000. tunne, to harbour in with great safety. The one Bay we named Saint *George's*; the other (and more inward) Saint *Marie's*. The King of Yaocomico, dwells on the left-hand or side thereof: & we tooke vp our Seate on the right, one mile within the land. It is as braue a piece of ground to set down on as most is in the Countrey, & I suppose as good, (if not much better) than the primest parcel of *English* ground.

Our Town we call Saint *Marie's*; and to auoid all iust occasion of offence, & collour of wrong, wee bought of the King for Hatchetts, Axes, Howes, and Cloathes, a quantitie of some 30 miles of Land, which wee call *Augusta Carolina*; And that which made them the more willing to sell it, was the warres they had with the *Sasqusa-hanoughs*, a mighty bordering nation, who came often into their Countrey, to waste & destroy; & forced many of them to leaue their Countrey, and passe ouer Patoemeck to free themselues from perill before wee came. God no doubt disposing all this for them, who were to bring his law and light among the Infidells. Yet, seeing wee came soe well prepared

with armes, their feare was much lesse, & they could be content to dwell by vs: Yet doe they daily relinquish their houses, lands, & Corne-fields, & leaue them to vs. Is not this a piece of wonder that a nation, which a few dayes before was in armes with the rest against vs, should yeeld themselues now vnto vs like lambes, & giue vs their houses, land & liuings, for a trifle? *Digitus Dei est hic*: and surely some great good is entended by God to his Nation. Some few families of *Indians*, are permitted to stay by vs till next yeere, & then the land is free.

Wee had not beene long time seated there, ere Sir *John Haruey*, Gouvernor of *Virginia*, did our Gouvernour the honour (in most friendly manner) to visit him: & during the time of his being there, the King of *Patuxunt* also came to visit vs; and being come aboard the Arke, and brought into the great Cabbin, & seated betweene the two Gouvernors (Captaine *Fleete* and Master *Golding* the interpreters being present) he began his Speech as followeth.

When I heard that a great Werowance of the English was come to Yoacomoco, I had a great desire to see him. But when I heard the Werowance of Pasbie-haye was come thither also to visit him, I presently start vp, and without further counsell, came to see them both.

In the time of his stay at Saint *Mairie's*, wee kept the Solemnitie of carrying our Colours on shore: and the King of *Patuxunt* accompanying vs, was much taken with the Ceremony. But the same night (hee and Captaine *Fleete* being at the Indian House) the Arke's great gunnes, to honour the Day, spake aloud; which the King of *Patuxunt* with great admiration hearing, counselled his friends the *Yoacomoco Indians* to be carefull that they breake not their peace with vs; & said: *When wee shoote, our Bow-strings giue a twang that's heard but a little way off: But doe you not heare what cracks their Bow-strings giue?* Many such pretty sayings hee vsed in the time of his being with vs, & at his departure, hee thus exprest his extraordinary affection vnto vs:

I doe loue the English soe well, that if they should kill me, so that they left mee with so much breath, as to speake vnto my people, I would commend them not to reuenge my Death.

As for the Natiues they are proper tall men of person; swarthy by nature but much more by Art: painting themselues with Colours in oyle, like a darke Red, which they doe to keep the Gnatts off: wherein I confesse, there is more ease than Comlinesse.

As for their faces, they haue other Colours at times, as Blew.

from the nose vpward, and Red downeward, and fometime contrariwise in great variety, and in very gastly manner; sometimes they haue no beards till they come to be very old, and therefore drawe from each side of their mouthes, lines to their very eares, to represent a beard; & this sometimes of one colour, and sometimes of another.

They wear their hair generally very long, and it is as black as *Jett*: which they bring vp in a Knott to the left eare, and tie it about with a large string of Wampampegge, or Roanoke, or some other of the best Jewels among them. Vpon their forehead, some vse to weare a Fish of Copper, and some weare other figures.

About their neckes, they vse to weare many bugle chaynes, though these begin now not to be esteemed among them for truck. Their apparell generally is deere-skin, and some Furre, which they weare like loose mantles: yet vnder this about their middle, all women & men, at man's estate, wear *Perizomata* (or round aprons) of skinnes, which keeps them decently couered, that without any offence to chast eyes, wee may conuerse with them.

All the rest of their bodies are naked, & at times, some of the youngest sort both of men & women haue iust nothing to couer them. Their feete are as hard as any horne, when they runne ouer prickles & thornes they feele it not. Their Armes is a Bow, with a bunch of arrowes, of a yard long, furnisht with three feathers at the top; and pointed either with the point of a deere's horne, or a sharp three-cornered white flint; the rest is a small cane, or straight sticke. They are so experte at these, that I haue once seen one, a good distance off, strike a very small bird through the middelle: and they vsed to cast a thing vp from hand, and before it come to the ground to meete it with a shaft. Their bowes are but weake, and carry not leuell very farre; yet these are their liuelyhood, and euery day they are abroad after squirrells, paretidges, turkies, deere, & the like game; whereof there is a wonderfull plenty; though wee dare not yet be so bold ourselues, as to fetch fresh meate by this meanes farre off.

The *Indian* houses are all built heere in a long halfe Ouall; nine or tenne foote high to the midelle top, where (as in ancient Temples) the light is admitted by a window, halfe a yarde square; which window is also the chimney, which giueth passage to the smoake, the fire being made in the middest of the floore (as in our old halls of *England*) and about it they vse to lie. Saue only

that their Kings & great men haue their Cabbins, and a bed of skinnes well dressed (wherein they are excellent) set on boards and foure stakes driuen into the ground. And now at this present, many of vs live in these *Witchotts* (as they terme them) conueniently enough till better bee sett vp: But they are dressed vp something better than when the *Indians* had them.

The naturall witt of this nation is good and quick, and will concieue a thing very readily: they excell in smell and tast, & haue far sharper sight than wee. Their ordinary diet is Poane and Omine, both made of Corne, to which they adde at times, Fish, Fowle, and Venison.

They are of great temperance, especially from Hott-waters or Wine, which they are hardly brought to tast, saue onely whom the *English* haue corrupted with their owne vices.

For modestie, I must confesse, I neuer saw from Man or Woman, any action tending to leuitie; & yet daily the poore soules are heere in our houses, & take content to bee with vs, bringing sometimes Turkies, sometimes Squirrells as bigge as *English* Rabbetts, but much more dainty; at other times fine white cakes, Patridges, Oisters ready boil'd and stewed: and doe runne vnto vs with smiling countenance when they see vs, and will fish and hunt for vs, if wee will; and all this with entercourse of very few words, but wee haue hitherto gathered their meaning by signes.

It is lawfull among them to haue more wiues than one: but all keepe the rigour of coniugall faith vnto their Husbands. The women's very aspect is modest and graue.

Generally the nation is so noble, that you cannot doe them any favour or good turnes but they returne it. There is small passion among them, but they weigh all with a calme and quiet reason. And to doe this the better, in greate affaires they are studdying in a long silence what is best to bee said or done: And then they answer yea or no, in two words: And stand constantly to their resolution.

If these people were once Christians (as by some signes wee haue reason to thinke nothing hinders it but want of language) it would bee a right vertuous & renowned Nation.

As for their religion, we haue not language ourselues to find it out; Master *Thoroughgood*, who driues his Lordship's trade vpon the riuer Patuxunt, hath related somewhat.

First they acknowledge One God of Heaven, which they call (our) God; and cry, a thousand shames vpon those Christians that so lightly offend so good a God. But they giue no externall

honour vnto him, but vse all their might to please an Okee (or frantick spirit) for feare of harme from him. They adore also Wheat and Fire as two gods, very beneficiall vnto man's nature.

In the Machicomoco, or Temple of *Patuxunt*, there was scene by our Traders this Ceremony. Vpon a day appointed all the Townes mett, and a great fire being made; about it stood the younger sort, and behinde them againe the elder. Then taking a little deer suett, they cast it into the fire, crying *Taho, Taho*, and lifting their hands to heauen. After this, was brought before them a great Bagg, filled with a large Tobacco-pipe and Poake, which is the word they vse for Our *Tobacco*. This was carried about the fire, the youth following, and singing *Taho, Taho*, in very good tune of voice, and Comely gesture of body.

The round ended, one comes reuerently to the Bagg, and opening it, takes out the *Pipe*, and diuides the Poake from one to one. As euery one tooke his draught, hee breath'd his smoake vpon the limbs of his owne body; as it were to sanctifie them by this ceremony, to the honour & seruice of their God, whomsoever they meant.

This is all I can say touching their religion: saue onely that they seeme to haue some knowledge by tradition, of a flood wherein the world was drowned for sinne.

And now to returne to the place itself, chosen for our plantation. Wee haue been vpon it but one month, and therefore can make no large relation of it. Yet thus much I can say of it already; For our own safety, we haue built a good strong Fort or Palizado, & haue mounted vpon it one good piece of Ordnance, and 4 Murderers, and haue seuen pieces of Ordnance more, ready to mount forthwith. For our prouision, heere is some store of Peasen, and Beanes, and Wheate left on the ground by the *Indians*, who had satisfaction for it.

Wee haue planted since wee came, as much Maize (or Indian Wheate) as will suffice (if God prosper it) much more company than we haue. It is vp about knee high aboue ground already, and wee expect return of 1000. for one, as we haue reason for our hope, from the experience of the yeele in other parts of this Countrey, as is very credibly related to vs.

We haue also *English* Peasen, & French-beanes, Cotten, Oringes, Limons, Melocotunes, Apples, Peares, Potatos, and Sugar-Canes of our owne planting, beside Hortage comming vp very finely.

But such is the quantity of Vines and Grapes now already

vpon them (though young) as I dare say if wee had Vessells and skill, wee might make many a tonne of Wine, euen from about our Plantation; and such Wine, as those of Virginia say (for yet we can say nothing) as is as good as the Wine of Spaine. I feare they excede; but surely very good. For the Clime of this Countrey is neere the same with *Sivill* and Corduba: lying betweene 38 & 40 degrees of Northerlie latitude.

Of Hoggs we have allready got from *Achomack* (a plantation in *Virginia*) to the number of 100, & more: and some 30 Cowes; and more wee expect daily, with Goats and Hennes; our Horses and Sheepe wee must have out of *England*, or some other place by the way, for we can haue none in *Virginia*.

For the Commodities, I will speake more when I see further; onely wee haue sent ouer a good quantitie of Iron-stone, for a tryall, which, if it proue well, the place is likly to yeeld infinite store of it. And for that flaxe and hempe which wee haue sowed, it comes vp, and wee hope will thriue exceedingly well: I end with the soyle, which is excellent, couered with store of large strau-berries, Raspices, Vines, Sassafras, Wall-nutts, Acornes, & the like: and this in the wildest woods too.

The mould is blacke, a foot deepe, and then comes after a red Earth. All is high wood, but in the *Indian* fields, which are some parcells of ground cleared for Corne. It abounds with good Springs, which is our drinke. Of beasts; I haue seene Deere, Racounes, and Squirrills, beside which there are many others, which I haue not yet seene. Of Birds diuersely feathered there are infinite; Eagles, Bitternes, Herons, Swannes, Geese, Parteridge, Ducks, red, blew, partie-coloured Birds, and the like. By all which it appeareth, the Countrey aboundeth not onely with profit but with pleasure. And to say trueth, there wanteth nothing for the perfecting of this hopefull plantation; but greater numbers of our Country-men to enioy it.

From Saint *Mairie's* in
Mary-land, 27 May
1634.

THE SETTLEMENT AT ST. MARY'S.

Having now arrived at the wished-for country, we allotted names according to circumstances. And indeed the Promontory, which is toward the south, we consecrated with the name of St. Gregory (now Smith Point), naming the northern one (now Point Lookout) St.

Michael's, in honor of all the angels. Never have I beheld a larger or more beautiful river. The Thames seems a mere rivulet in comparison with it; it is not disfigured with any swamps, but has firm land on each side. Fine groves of trees appear, not choked with briars or bushes and undergrowth, but growing at intervals as if planted by the hand of man, so that you can drive a four-horse carriage, wherever you choose, through the midst of the trees. Just at the mouth of the river we observed the natives in arms. That night, fires blazed through the whole country, and since they had never seen such a large ship, messengers were sent in all directions, who reported that a *Canoe*, like an island, had come with as many men as there were trees in the woods. We went on, however, to Herons' Islands, so called from the immense number of these birds. The first island we came to [we called] St. Clement's Island, and, as it has a sloping shore, there is no way of getting to it except by wading. Here the women, who had left the ship, to do the washing, upset the boat, and came near being drowned, losing also a large part of my linen clothes, no small loss in these parts. . . .

On the day of the *Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary* in the year 1634 we celebrated the mass for the first time on this island. This had never been done before in this part of the world. After we had completed the sacrifice, we took upon our shoulders a great cross, which we had hewn out of a tree, and advancing in order to the appointed place, with the assistance of the Governor and his associates and the other Catholics, we erected a trophy to Christ the Saviour, humbly reciting, on our bended knees, the Litanies of the Sacred Cross, with great emotion.

Now when the Governor had understood that many Princes were subject to the Emperor of Pascatawaye, he determined to visit him, in order that, after explaining the reason of our voyage, and gaining his good will, he might secure an easier access to the others. Accordingly, putting with our pinnace (the *Dove*) another, which he had procured in Virginia, and leaving the ship (the *Ark*) at anchor, he sailed round and landed on the southern side of the river. And, when he had learned that the Savages had fled inland, he went on to a city which takes its name from the river, being also called Potomeack. Here the young King's uncle named *Archihu* was his guardian, and took his place in the kingdom; a sober and discreet man. He willingly listened to Father (John) Altham (altham, that is Oliver), who had been selected to accompany the Governor (for he (the Governor) kept me still with the ship's cargo). And when the Father explained, as far as he could through the interpreter, Henry Fleet, the errors of the heathen, he would, every little while, acknowledge his own; and when he was informed that we had come thither, not to make war, but out of good will towards them in order to impart civilized instruction to his ignorant race, and show them the way to heaven, and at the same time with the intention of communicating to them the advantages of distant countries, he gave us to understand that he was pleased at our coming. The interpreter was

one of the Protestants of Virginia. And so, as the Father could not stop for further discourse at the time, he promised that he would return before very long. "That is just what I wish," said Archihu, "we will eat at the same table; my followers too shall go to hunt for you, and we will have all things in common."

They went on from this place to *Piscatawaye*, where all the inhabitants flew to arms. About five hundred, equipped with bows, had stationed themselves on the shore with their Emperor. But, after signals of peace were made, the Emperor, laying aside all apprehension, came on board the pinnace, and, when he heard of our friendly disposition towards those nations, he gave us permission to dwell wherever we pleased in his dominions.

In the meantime, while the Governor was with the Emperor on this voyage, the savages at St. Clement's, growing bolder, began to mingle more freely with our sentinels. For we kept watch by day and night, to guard, from sudden attacks, our men, who were cutting wood, as well as the vessel which we were building, having brought with us the separate planks and ribs. It was pleasant to hear them admiring everything, especially wondering where in the world a tree had grown large enough to be carved into a ship of such huge size; for they supposed it had been cut out from a single trunk of a tree, like an Indian canoe. Our cannon filled them all with astonishment, as indeed they were not a little louder than their own twanging bows, and sounded like thunder. . . .

Going about nine leagues (that is about 27 miles) from St. Clement, we sailed into the mouth of a river, on the north side of the Potomac, which we named after St. George. This river (or rather arm of the sea), like the Thames, runs from south to north about twenty miles before you come to fresh water. At its mouth are two harbors, capable of containing three hundred ships of the largest size. We consecrated one of these to St. George: the other, which is more inland, to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The left side of the river was the abode of King *Yaocomico*. We landed on the right-hand side, and, going in about a mile from the shore, we laid out the plan of a city, naming it after St. Mary. And, in order to avoid every appearance of injustice, and afford no opportunity for hostility, we bought from the King thirty miles of that land, delivering in exchange, axes, hatchets, rakes, and several yards of cloth. This district is already named Augusta Carolina. The Susquehanoes, a tribe inured to war, the bitterest enemies of King *Yaocomico*, making repeated inroads, ravage his whole territory, and have driven the inhabitants, from their apprehension of danger, to seek homes elsewhere. This is the reason why we so easily secured a part of his kingdom, God by this means opening a way for His own Everlasting Law and Light. They move away every day, first one party and then another, and leave us their houses, lands and cultivated fields. Surely this is like a miracle that barbarous men, a few days before arrayed in arms against us, should so willingly surrender themselves to us like lambs,

and deliver up to us themselves and their property. The finger of God is in this, and He purposes some great benefit to this nation. Some few, however, are allowed to dwell among us until next year. But then the land is to be left entirely to us.—*From Father White's Narrative.*

George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, who in 1609 was a member of the Virginia Company, and was also one of the councillors of the New England Company, began his own active colonizing work in America by sending over a little body of colonists to the southeastern peninsula of Newfoundland in 1621, one of the two ships which carried them being the "Ark," which afterwards carried the first settlers to Maryland. He gave the name of Avalon to his settlement, in commemoration of the spot to which tradition assigned the first preaching of Christianity in Britain. In 1628, largely on account of the religious and political strife in England, he removed to Avalon with his wife and family, except his eldest son Cecil. But the Avalon venture was a failure, and Calvert received a new grant for a region north of the Potomac, which received the name of Maryland at the request of the king, Charles I., in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria. Before the charter, modelled on that of Avalon, had passed the Great Seal, Baltimore, who after a visit to Virginia had returned to England, died, in 1632; and the grant of Maryland was made out to his son Cecil, the charter, which made Maryland a palatinate, conferring large rights and privileges upon the proprietary. Cecil Calvert at once organized a company of between two and three hundred men to effect a settlement; and the "Relation," reprinted in the present leaflet, is the account of their voyage and the founding of St. Mary's, which remained the capital of the colony for sixty years, when Annapolis became the permanent capital. It was not until 1729 that Baltimore was founded.

This "Relation," issued in London in 1634, was the first publication describing the new Province of Maryland. It was reprinted in 1865 as the first of Shea's Early Southern Tracts, edited by Brantz Meyer of Baltimore, who says in his introduction: "The pamphlet was perhaps prepared by Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, from the letters of his brothers Leonard and George Calvert, who went out with the expedition. Indeed, it is probable that it is the exact language of the adventurers themselves, and so contains their fresh impressions of the land and people during the first two months of their residence in America." This pamphlet served as the basis of the more extended "Relation of Maryland," published in London the next year, and reprinted here by Joseph Sabin in 1865, edited by Francis L. Hawks. We have in addition to these two "Relations" the "Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland," by Father Andrew White, one of two Jesuit fathers who came with the expedition, written towards the end of 1634. The Latin MS. of this interesting work was discovered in the Jesuit archives at Rome in 1832 by Rev. William McSherry, of Baltimore, was edited by Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, and published by the Maryland Historical Society in 1874. It is evident, from many parallel passages, that there is close relationship or identity between the authorship of this and of the 1634 "Relation." A brief selection from this is given above, taken from the larger selection printed in the first volume of Scharf's History of Maryland. The student is especially referred to this volume of Scharf, which contains many original papers, including the Avalon and Maryland charters. Cecil Calvert's Instructions are given in W. H. Browne's "Georgius and Cecilius Calvert." Mr. Browne is the author of the admirable volume on Maryland in the American Commonwealths Series. See bibliography in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," iii., and in Channing and Hart's "Guide to American History."

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Description of Pennsylvania

BY WILLIAM PENN.

A LETTER FROM WILLIAM PENN, PROPRIETOR AND GOVERNOR OF PENNSILVANIA IN AMERICA, TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE FREE SOCIETY OF TRADERS OF THAT PROVINCE, RESIDING IN LONDON; CONTAINING A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SAID PROVINCE, ITS SOIL, AIR, WATER, SEASONS, AND PRODUCE, BOTH NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL, AND THE GOOD INCREASE THEREOF. WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVES, OR ABORIGINES. PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR 1683.

My kind friends:

The kindness of yours by the ship Thomas and Anne, doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation, and the prosperous beginning of this province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which, I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself, and the affairs of this province, as I have been able to make.

In the first place, I take notice of the news you sent me, whereby I find some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a *Jesuit* too. One might have reasonably hoped, that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and indeed, absence being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent as the dead; because they are equally unable, as such, to defend themselves: but they that intend mischief, do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However,

to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive, and *no Jesuit*, and, I thank God, very well. And without injustice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer, that they that wilfully and falsely report, would have been glad it had been so. But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from England, which, perhaps, at this time, are no more alive than I am dead.

But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came; an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments: nor were the relatives wanting in this, for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me; to whom I made suitable returns, &c.

For the province, the general condition of it take as followeth.

I. The country itself, in its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as sand yellow and black, poor and rich: also gravel both loamy and dusty; and in some places a fast fat earth, like to our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers; God in his wisdom having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided, the back-lands being in general three to one richer, than those that lie by navigable waters. We have much of another soil, and that is a black hasel-mound, upon a stony or rocky bottom.

II. The air is sweet and clear, the heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

III. The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, that operate in the same manner with Barnet and North-Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

IV. For the seasons of the year, having by God's goodness now lived over the coldest and hottest that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

First, Of the fall, for then I came in: I found it from the 24th of October, to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December, to the beginning of the month called March,

we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England; but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of this cold is given, from the great lakes that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river Delaware. From that month, to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet spring, no gusts, but gentle showers, and a fine sky. Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence, to this present month, which endeth the summer (commonly speaking) we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind that ruleth the summer-season, is the south-west; but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the wholesome north-western seven days together: and whatever mists, fogs, or vapours, foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away; the one is followed by the other: a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet standing, being liable to retain mists and vapours, and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

V. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, poplar, gumwood, hickery, sassafrass, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white, and black; Spanish chestnut and swamp, the most durable of all: of all which, there is plenty for the use of man.

The fruits that I find in the woods, are the white and black mulberry, chestnut, walnut, plumbs, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape (now ripe) called by ignorance, "The fox-grape," (because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates) is in itself an extraordinary grape, and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontinac, as it is not much unlike in taste, ruddiness set aside; which in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much: there is a white kind of muskadel, and a little black grape like the cluster-grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other; but they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful viners to make good use of them: I intend to venture on it with

my Frenchman this season, who shews some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches very good, and in great quantities, not an Indian plantation without them; but whether naturally here at first I know not: however, one may have them by bushels for little; they make a pleasant drink, and I think not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign items and sets, already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best, where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine as any European countries, of the same latitude, do yield.

VI. The artificial produce of the country, is wheat, barley,* oats, rye, pease, beans, squashes, pumpkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

VII. Of living creatures; fish, fowl, and the beasts of the woods, here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: for food, as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox; deer bigger than ours; beaver, racoon, rabbits, squirrels, and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey (forty and fifty pounds weight), which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons, and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and grey; brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curlew, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel, nor so good have I ever eat in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, hering, rock, shad, catshead, sheepshead, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say, salmon, above the falls. Of shell-fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs, and muscles; some oysters six inches long; and one sort of cockles as large as the stewing-oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or furr, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher,

* Note. That Edward Jones, son-in-law to Thomas Wynn, living on the Schuylkill, had with ordinary cultivation, for one grain of English barley, seventy stalks and ears of barley: and it is common in this country, from one bushel sown, to reap forty, often fifty and sometimes sixty: and three pecks of wheat sows an acre here.

minx, musk-rat: and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work, which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement. To say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

VIII. We have no want of horses, and some are very good, and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes with horses and pipe-staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plow mostly with oxen.

IX. There are divers plants, that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove by swellings, burnings, cuts, &c. that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient: and for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but are most fragrant.

X. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for colour, greatness, figure and variety: I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods: I have sent a few to a person of quality this year for a trial.

Thus much of the country; next of the natives, or Aborigines.

XI. The natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin: of complexion, black, but by design, as the gypsies in England. They grease themselves with bears-fat clarified; and using no defence against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looking Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East-Indians and Blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white, and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

XII. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew, in signification full; like short-hand in writing, *one word* serveth in the place of *three*, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer: imperfect in their tenses, wanting

in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections: I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion: and I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent or emphasis, than theirs: for instance, *Octocockon*, *Rancocas*, *Oricton*, *Shak*, *Marian*, *Poquesien*; all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *anna*, is mother; *issimus*, a brother, *net-cap*, friend, *usque oret*, very good, *pane*, bread, *metsa*, eat, *matta*, no, *batta*, to have, *payo*, to come; *Sepassen*, *Passijon*, the names of places; *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menanse*, *Secatereus*, are the names of persons. If one ask them for anything they have not, they will answer, *Mattá ne battá*, which to translate is, *Not I have*, instead of, *I have not*.

XIII. Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said; I will begin with children: so soon as they are born, they wash them in water, and while very young, and in cold weather to chuse, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapped them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads: and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly; they wear only a small clout round their waste, till they are big; if boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen; then they hunt, and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry, else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

XIV. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please: the age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely elder.

XV. Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds or grass. In travel, they lodge in the woods about a great fire,

with the mantle of duffls they wear by day wrapped about them, and a few boughs stuck round about them.

XVI. Their diet is maize, or Indian corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call *homine*; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat: they have likewise several sorts of beans and pease, that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their *larder*.

XVII. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house, or *wigwam*, they give him the best place, and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *itah*, which is as much as to say, *Good be to you*; and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages: if you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

XVIII. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them: in either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country: a king's daughter thinking herself slighted by her husband, in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and eat it, upon which she immediately died; and for which, last week, he made an *offering* to her kindred, for atonement, and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, that died a natural death: for till *widowers* have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage, for a portion; but when married, chaste: when with child they know their husbands no more, till delivered; and during their month, they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them, till that time be expired.

XIX. But in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend: give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: wealth circulateth like the blood, all parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several

parcels of land: the pay, or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighbouring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity, that is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects: and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little, and the reason is, a little contents them: in this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery-suits and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live: their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread everywhere: they eat twice a day, morning and evening, their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, *Some more, and I will go to sleep*; but, when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

XX. In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give anything, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural: they drink at those times a *teran*, or decoction of some roots in spring-water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love: their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year: they are choice of the graves of their dead; for lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

XXI. These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it; yet they believe a GOD and *immortality*, without the help of metaphysicks; for they say, "There is a great king that made them, who dwells

in a glorious country to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again." Their *worship* consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico: their sacrifice is their first-fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency, and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing, and drumming on a board, direct the chorus: their postures in the dance are very antick, and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another: there have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will: I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present in their money, it may be six-pence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as *gold*, the white, *silver*; they call it all *wampum*.

XXII. Their government is by kings, which they call *Sachama*, and those by succession, but always of the mother's side: for instance, the children of him that is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose *sons* (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits: the reason they render for this way of descent, is, that their issue may not be spurious.

XXIII. Every king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people; nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land or traffick, without advising with them; and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider, how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade: their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business,

the king ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, "He was ordered by his king to speak to me; and that now it was not he, but the king that spoke, because what he should say, was the king's mind." He first prayed me, "To excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council, before they resolve; and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay." Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old grave, the young reverent in their deportment: they speak little, but fervently, and with elegance: I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say, the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, that out-wits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of "kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love, as long as the sun gave light." Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the *sachamakers* or kings; first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them "To love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government: that many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong." At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

XXIV. The justice they have is pecuniary: in case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts, and presents of their *wampum*, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they can render, is, "That she breedeth children, which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk, they forgive it, saying, "It was the *drink*, and not the *man*, that abused them."

XXV. We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter: do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them: the worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as glorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived *their* sight, with all their pretensions to an *higher* manifestation: what good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixed obedience to their *greater* knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

XXVI. For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean, of the stock of the *Ten Tribes*, and that for the following reasons; first, they were to go to a "land not *planted* or *known*," which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and He that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia, to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively a resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's-place or Bury-street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in *rites*, they reckon by *moons*; they offer their *first-fruits*, they have a kind of *feast* of *tabernacles*; they are said to lay their altar upon *twelve stones*; their *mourning* a *year*, *customs* of *women*, with many things that do not now occur.

So much for the natives; next the old planters will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony, and the concerns of it.

XXVII. The first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffick, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them some years, the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, to Peter Styresant, governor for the states of Holland, anno 1655.

XXVIII. The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the prov-

ince that lie upon or near to the bay; and the Swedes the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture or propagation of fruit-trees, as if they desired rather to have enough, than plenty or traffick. But, I presume, the Indians made them the more careless, by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs, for rum, and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few, before the people concerned with me came among them: I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behaviour to the English; they do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper, and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons: and I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

XXIX. The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worship at Newcastle; and the Swedes, three, one at Christina, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco, within half a mile of this town.

XXX. There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have made, in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tired your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the east by the river and bay of Delaware, and eastern sea; it hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay; some navigable for great ships, some for small craft: those of most eminency are Christina, Brandywine, Skilpot, and Schuylkill; any one of which have room to lay up the royal navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom water.

XXXI. The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burthen, are Lewis, Mespilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feversham, and Georges below, and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Pemmapecka, Portquessin, Neshimenck and Pennbery in the Freshes, many lesser that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers, which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties, Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, containing about four thou-

sand souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent in any material thing. But of this more hereafter, being yet raw and new in our geer: however, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who by their own private expenses so early considered mine for the publick, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported: which after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province and the traders to it. And for the well-government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables, &c. which courts are held every two months: but to prevent law-suits, there are three peace-makers chosen by every county-court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences betwixt man and man; and spring and fall there is an orphan's court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

XXXII. Philadelphia, the expectation of those that are concerned in this province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those there, that are any ways interested therein: the situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Schuylkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river, but the Schuylkill being an hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course north-east towards the fountain of Susquahannah (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shewn you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me, will find their names and interests: but this I will say for the good providence of God, that of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced within less than a year to about fourscore houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can, while the countrymen are close at their farms: some of them got a little winter-corn in the ground last season, and the generality have had an handsome

summer-crop, and are preparing for their winter-corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May; the wheat in the month following; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things before the winter-season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them; the stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends, or the scare-crows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered, hath been salt meat, which by fowl in winter, and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God, I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I get in it; for I find that particular content which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business, and as such, I may say, it is a troublesome work; but the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an earlier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some mens duty to plow, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap; so it is the wisdom as well as the duty of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and cheerfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it.

XXXIII. For your particular concern, I might entirely refer you to the letters of the president of the society; but this I will venture to say, your provincial settlements both within and without the town, for situation and soil, are without exception: your city-lot is an whole street, and one side of a street, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres, not easily valued, which is, besides your four hundred acres in the city-liberties, part of your twenty thousand acres in the country. Your tannery hath such plenty of bark, the saw-mill for timber, and the place of the glass-house are so conveniently posted for water carriage, the city-lot for a dock, and the whalery for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town Lewis by it to help your people, that by God's blessing the affairs of the society will naturally grow in their reputation and profit. I am sure I have not turned my back upon any offer that tended to its prosperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with her officers, to countenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you farther to do, whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine, and to the manufacture of linen

in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote it; and the French people are most likely in both respects to answer that design: to that end I would advise you to send for some thousands of plants out of France, with some able vinerons, and people of the other vocation: but because I believe you have been entertained with this and some other profitable subjects by your president, I shall add no more, but to assure you, that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me,

Your kind cordial friend,

W. PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, THE 16TH OF THE 6TH
MONTH, CALLED AUGUST, 1683.

WILLIAM PENN'S FIRST LANDING IN AMERICA.

On the 27th of October [1682], nine weeks after the departure from Deal, the *Welcome* moored off Newcastle, in the territories lately ceded by the Duke of York, and William Penn first set foot in the New World. His landing made a general holiday in the town; young and old, Welch, Dutch, English, Swedes, and Germans, crowded down to the landing-place, each eager to catch a glimpse of the great man who had come amongst them, less as their lord and governor than as their friend. American history affords no finer subject for a great national cartoon than this scene presents. In the centre of the foreground, only distinguished from the few companions of his voyage who have yet landed by the nobleness of his mien, and a light blue silken sash tied round his waist, stands William Penn; erect in stature, every motion indicating courtly grace, his countenance lighted up with hope and honest pride,—in every limb and feature the expression of a serene and manly beauty. The young officer before him, dressed in the gay costume of the English service, is his lieutenant, Markham, come to welcome his relative to the new land and to give an account of his own stewardship. On the right stand the chief settlers of the district, arrayed in their national costumes, the light hair and quick eye of the Swede finding a good foil in the stolid look of the heavy Dutchman, who doffs his cap, but doubts whether he shall take the pipe out of his mouth even to say welcome to the new governor. A little apart, as if studying with the intense eagerness of Indian skill the physiognomy of the ruler who has come with his children to occupy their hunting-grounds, stands the wise and noble leader of the Red Men, Taminent, and a party of the Lenni Lenapé in their picturesque paints and costume. Behind the central figure are grouped the principal companions of his voyage; and on the dancing waters of the Delaware rides the stately ship, while between her and the shore a multitude of light canoes dart to and fro, bringing the passengers and merchandise to land. Part of the background shows an irregular line of streets and houses, the latter with the pointed roofs and fantastic gables which still delight the artist's eye in the streets of Leyden or Rotterdam; and further on the view is lost in one of those grand old pine and cedar forests which belong essentially to an American scene. There are many fine elements for the artist's purposes

in such a theme: beauty, novelty, variety, and historic interest; land, wood, water; motion, life, repose; national and personal characteristics, nature in its most picturesque forms, civilization in its highest expression—are all grouped, compared and contrasted in this striking scene.

Next day the people were called together in the Dutch court-house, when the legal formalities of taking possession were gone through to the satisfaction of all present. The deeds and charters were produced and read aloud. The agents of the Duke of York surrendered the territory in their master's name by the usual form of earth and water. His great and undefined powers thus legally established, Penn rose and addressed the people amid the profoundest silence. He spoke of the reasons for his coming—the great idea which he had nursed from his youth upwards—his desire to found a free and virtuous state, in which the people should rule themselves; he then explained the nature of his powers, but assured his audience of his wish to exercise them only provisionally and for the general good. He adverted to the frame of government which he had published for Pennsylvania as containing his theory of government; and promised the settlers on the lower reaches of the Delaware that the same principles should be adopted in the organization of their territory. Every man, he said, in his provinces, should enjoy liberty of conscience and his fair share of political power; and as an earnest of his intention to proceed on fixed and just principles in the government of his colony, he ended by renewing in his own name the commissions of all the existing magistrates. The people listened to this speech with wonder and delight. They were many of them but rude and illiterate husbandmen; but that old northern instinct which had led them from the Rhine, the Elbe, the Zuyder Zee, and the Dahl to seek for freedom on the shores of the Delaware, told them a new era had commenced with the landing of the English Governor.—*William Hepworth Dixon.*

In 1676 William Penn became one of the trustees of the western half of New Jersey, upon the partition of that province, and largely settled it with Quakers. He formed an association which in 1680 purchased East New Jersey; and at about the same time received a grant from the crown, in discharge of a debt of nearly £16,000 due him as the representative of his father, of an extensive tract west of the Delaware, which in honor of his father was named Pennsylvania. In 1681 he published "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania"—followed the next year by another brief account—to advertise its advantages; and in 1682 he formed a "Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania," and in concert with Algernon Sidney framed a most liberal constitution for the colony. The same year he came to America, landing at Newcastle on the Delaware in October, and marking out the site of Philadelphia in November. In 1683 he sent to the committee of the Free Society of Traders the General Description of the Province printed in the present leaflet, and it was published in London. See the valuable bibliography concerning Penn and Pennsylvania by Frederick D. Stone, appended to his chapter on the Founding of Pennsylvania in the Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iii. See the various histories of Pennsylvania, and the biographies of Penn by Clarkson, Dixon and others, also the valuable article on Penn by J. M. Rigg in the Dictionary of National Biography. See Penn's Plan for the Peace of Europe, in Old South Leaflet No. 75; and Pastorius's Description of Pennsylvania in 1700, in Leaflet No. 95.

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The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina.

1669.

OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING having, out of his royal grace and bounty, granted unto us the province of *Carolina*, with all the royalties, properties, jurisdictions and privileges of a county palatine, as large and ample as the county palatine of Durham, with other great privileges; for the better settlement of the government of the said place, and establishing the interest of the Lords Proprietors with equality and without confusion; and that the government of this province may be made most agreeable to the monarchy under which we live, and of which this province is a part; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy: we the Lords and Proprietors of the province aforesaid, have agreed to this following form of government, to be perpetually established amongst us, unto which we do oblige ourselves, our heirs and successors, in the most binding ways that can be devised.

I. The eldest of the Lords Proprietors shall be Palatine; and upon the decease of the Palatine, the eldest of the seven surviving proprietors shall always succeed him.

II. There shall be seven other chief offices erected, viz. the admirals, chamberlains, chancellors, constables, chief justices, high stewards, and treasurers; which places shall be enjoyed by none but the Lords Proprietors, to be assigned at first by lot; and upon the vacancy of any of the seven great offices by death, or otherwise, the eldest proprietor shall have his choice of the said place.

III. The whole province shall be divided into counties; each county shall consist of eight signories, eight baronies, and four precincts; each precinct shall consist of six colonies.

IV. Each signiory, barony, and colony, shall consist of twelve thousand acres; the eight signiories being the share of the eight proprietors, and the eight baronies of the nobility: both which shares, being each of them one fifth part of the whole, are to be perpetually annexed, the one to the proprietors, the other to the hereditary nobility, leaving the colonies, being three fifths amongst the people; that so in setting out, and planting the lands, the balance of the government may be preserved.

V. At any time before the year one thousand seven hundred and one, any of the Lords Proprietors shall have power to relinquish, alienate, and dispose, to any other person, his proprietorship, and all the signories, powers, and interest, thereunto belonging, wholly and entirely together, and not otherwise. But, after the year one thousand seven hundred, those who are then Lords Proprietors shall not have power to alienate or make over their proprietorship, with the signories and privileges thereunto belonging, or any part thereof, to any person whatsoever, otherwise than as in § xviii; but it shall all descend unto their heirs male: and, for want of heirs male, it shall all descend on that Landgrave or Cassique of *Carolina*, who is descended of the next heirs female of the Proprietor; and, for want of such heirs, it shall descend on the next heir general; and, for want of such heirs, the remaining seven proprietors shall, upon the vacancy, chuse a Landgrave to succeed the deceased proprietor, who being chosen by the majority of the seven surviving proprietors, he and his heirs successively shall be proprietors, as fully to all intents and purposes as any of the rest.

VI. That the number of eight proprietors may be constantly kept; if, upon the vacancy of any proprietorship, the seven surviving proprietors shall not chuse a Landgrave to be a proprietor, before the second biennial parliament after the vacancy, then the next biennial parliament but one after such vacancy, shall have power to chuse any landgrave to be a proprietor.

VII. Whosoever, after the year one thousand seven hundred, either by inheritance or choice, shall succeed any proprietor in his proprietorship, and signiories thereunto belonging; shall be obliged to take the name and arms of that proprietor whom he succeeds; which from thenceforth shall be the name and arms of his family and their posterity.

VIII. Whatsoever Landgrave or Cassique shall come to be a proprietor, shall take the signiores annexed to the said proprie-

torship; but his former dignity, with the baronies annexed, shall devolve into the hands of the Lords Proprietors.

IX. There shall be just as many landgraves as there are counties, and twice as many cassiques, and no more. These shall be the hereditary nobility of the province, and by right of their dignity be members of parliament. Each landgrave shall have four baronies, and each cassique two baronies, hereditarily and unalterably annexed to, and settled upon, the said dignity.

X. The first landgraves and cassiques of the twelve first counties to be planted, shall be nominated thus; that is to say, of the twelve landgraves the Lords Proprietors shall each of them separately for himself nominate and chuse one; and the remaining four landgraves of the first twelve, shall be nominated and chosen by the Palatine's court. In like manner of the twenty-four first cassiques, each proprietor for himself shall nominate and chuse two, and the remaining eight shall be nominated and chosen by the Palatine's court; and when the twelve first counties shall be planted, the Lords Proprietors shall again in the same manner nominate and chuse twelve more landgraves, and twenty-four cassiques, for the twelve next counties to be planted; that is to say, two thirds of each number by the single nomination of each proprietor for himself, and the remaining one third by the joint election of the Palatine's court, and so proceed in the same manner till the whole province of *Carolina* be set out and planted, according to the proportions in these *Fundamental Constitutions*.

XI. Any landgrave or cassique at any time before the year one thousand seven hundred and one, shall have power to alienate, sell, or make over, to any other person, his dignity, with the baronies thereunto belonging, all entirely together. But, after the year one thousand seven hundred, no landgrave or cassique shall have power to alienate, sell, or make over, or let, the hereditary baronies of his dignity, or any part thereof, otherwise than as in § xviii; but they shall all entirely, with the dignity thereunto belonging, descend unto his heirs male: and, for want of heirs male, all entirely and undivided, to the next heir general; and, for want of such heirs, shall devolve into the hands of the Lords Proprietors.

XII. That the due number of landgraves and cassiques may be always kept up; if, upon the devolution of any landgraveship or cassiqueship, the Palatine's court shall not settle the devolved dignity, with the baronies thereunto annexed, before

the second biennial parliament after such devolution; the next biennial parliament but one after such devolution shall have power to make any one landgrave or cassique in the room of him, who, dying without heirs, his dignity and baronies devolved.

XIII. No one person shall have more than one dignity, with the signiories or baronies thereunto belonging. But whensoever it shall happen that any one, who is already proprietor, landgrave, or cassique, shall have any of these dignities descend to him by inheritance; it shall be at his choice to keep which of the dignities, with the land annexed, he shall like best; but shall leave the other, with the lands annexed, to be enjoyed by him, who, not being his heir apparent and certain successor to his present dignity, is next of blood.

XIV. Whosoever, by the right of inheritance, shall come to be landgrave or cassique, shall take the name and arms of his predecessor in that dignity, to be from thenceforth the name and arms of his family and their posterity.

XV. Since the dignity of proprietor, landgrave, or cassique, cannot be divided, and the signiories or baronies thereunto annexed must for ever all entirely descend with, and accompany that dignity; whensoever, for want of heirs male, it shall descend on the issue female, the eldest daughter and her heirs shall be preferred, and in the inheritance of those dignities, and the signiories or baronies annexed, there shall be no co-heirs.

XVI. In every signiory, barony and manor, the respective lord shall have power, in his own name, to hold court-leet there, for trying of all causes both civil and criminal; but where it shall concern any person being no inhabitant, vassal, or leet-man of the said signiory, barony, or manor, he, upon paying down of forty shillings to the Lords Proprietors' use, shall have an appeal from the signiory or barony-court to the county-court, and from the manor-court to the precinct-court.

XVII. Every manor shall consist of not less than three thousand acres, and not above twelve thousand acres, in one entire piece and colony; but any three thousand acres or more, in one piece, and the possession of one man, shall not be a manor, unless it be constituted a manor by the grant of the Palatine's court.

XVIII. The lords of signiories and baronies shall have power only of granting estates not exceeding three lives, or thirty-one years, in two thirds of the said signiories, or baronies, and the remaining third shall be always demesne.

XIX. Any lord of a manor may alienate, sell, or dispose, to any other person and his heirs forever, his manor, all entirely together, with all the privileges and leet-ment hereunto belonging, so far forth as any colony lands; but no grant of any part thereof, either in fee, or for any longer term than three lives, or one and twenty years, shall be good against the next heir.

XX. No manor, for want of issue male, shall be divided amongst co-heirs; but the manor, if there be but one, shall all entirely descend to the eldest daughter and her heirs. If there be more manors than one, the eldest daughter first shall have her choice, the second next, and so on, beginning again at the eldest, till all the manors be taken up; that so the privileges which belong to manors being indivisible, the lands of the manors, to which they are annexed, may be kept entire, and the manor not lose those privileges, which, upon parcelling out to several owners, must necessarily cease.

XXI. Every lord of a manor, within his manor, shall have all the powers, jurisdictions, and privileges, which a landgrave or cassique hath in his baronies.

XXII. In every signiory, barony, and manor, all the leet-men shall be under the jurisdiction of the respective lords of the said signiory, barony, or manor, without appeal from him. Nor shall any leet-man, or leet-woman, have liberty to go off from the land of their particular lord, and live any where else, without licence obtained from their said lord, under hand and seal.

XXIII. All the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations.

XXIV. No man shall be capable of having a court-leet, or leet-men, but a proprietor, landgrave, cassique, or lord of a manor.

XXV. Whoever shall voluntarily enter himself a leet-man, in the registry of the county court, shall be a leet-man.

XXVI. Whoever is lord of leet-men, shall, upon the marriage of a leet-man or leet-woman of his, give them ten acres of land for their lives; they paying to him therefor not more than one eighth part of all the yearly produce and growth of the said ten acres.

XXVII. No landgrave or cassique shall be tried for any criminal cause, in any but the chief justices' court, and that by a jury of his peers.

XXVIII. There shall be eight supreme courts. The first called the Palatine's court, consisting of the palatine and the other seven proprietors. The other seven courts of the other

seven great officers, shall consist each of them of a proprietor, and six counsellors added to him. Under each of these latter seven courts, shall be a college of twelve assistants. The twelve assistants of the several colleges shall be chosen, two out of the landgraves, cassiques, or eldest sons of proprietors, by the Palatine's court; two out of the landgraves, by the landgraves chamber; two out of the cassiques, by the cassiques chamber; four more out of the twelve shall be chosen by the common chamber, out of such as have been, or are, members of parliament, sheriffs, or justices of the county court, or the younger sons or proprietors, or eldest sons of landgraves or cassiques; the two other shall be chosen by the palatine's court, out of the same sort of persons, out of which the commons chamber is to chuse.

XXIX. Out of these colleges shall be chosen at first, by the Palatine's court, six counsellors, to be joined with each proprietor in his court; of which six, one shall be of those who were chosen in any of the colleges by the Palatine's court, out of the landgraves, cassiques, or eldest sons of proprietors; one out of those who were chosen by the landgraves chamber; and one out of those who were chosen by the cassiques chamber; two out of those who were chosen by the commons chamber; and one out of those who were chosen by the Palatine's court, out of the proprietors' younger sons, or eldest sons of landgraves, cassiques, or commons, qualified as aforesaid.

XXX. When it shall happen that any counsellor dies, and thereby there is a vacancy, the grand council shall have power to remove any counsellor that is willing to be removed out of any of the proprietors' courts to fill up the vacancy; provided they take a man of the same degree and choice the other was of, whose vacant place is to be filled up. But if no counsellor consent to be removed, or upon such remove; the last remaining vacant place, in any of the proprietors' courts, shall be filled up by the choice of the grand council, who shall have power to remove out of any of the colleges, any assistant, who is of the same degree and choice that counsellor was of, into whose vacant place he is to succeed. The grand council also shall have power to remove any assistant, that is willing, out of one college into another, provided he be of the same degree and choice. But the last remaining vacant place in any college, shall be filled up by the same choice, and out of the same degree of persons the assistant was of, who is dead or removed. No place shall be vacant in any proprietors' court above six months. No place

shall be vacant in any college longer than the next session of parliament.

XXXI. No man, being a member of the grand council, or of any of the seven colleges, shall be turned out but for misdemeanour, of which the grand council shall be judge; and the vacancy of the person so put out shall be filled, not by election of the grand council, but by those who first chose him, and out of the same degree he was of who is expelled. But it is not hereby to be understood, that the grand council hath any power to turn out any one of the Lords Proprietors or their deputies, the Lords Proprietors having in themselves an inherent original right.

XXXII. All elections in the parliament, in the several chambers of the parliament, and in the grand council, shall be passed by balloting.

XXXIII. The Palatine's court shall consist of the Palatine and seven proprietors, wherein nothing shall be acted without the presence and consent of the Palatine or his deputy, and three others of the proprietors or their deputies. This court shall have power to call parliaments, to pardon all offences, to make elections of all officers in the proprietor's dispose, and to nominate and appoint Port Towns; and also shall have power by their order to the treasurer to dispose of all public treasure, excepting money granted by the parliament, and by them directed to some particular public use; and also shall have a negative upon all acts, orders, votes and judgments, of the grand council and the parliament, except only as in § vi and xii; and shall have all the powers granted to the Lords Proprietors, by their patent from *Our Sovereign Lord the King*, except in such things as are limited by these *Fundamental Constitutions*.

XXXIV. The Palatine himself, when he in person shall be either in the army or in any of the proprietors' courts, shall then have the power of general, or of that proprietor, in whose court the Palatine then presides, shall during his presence there be but as one of the council.

XXXV. The chancellor's court, consisting of one of the proprietors, and his six counsellors, who shall be called vice-chancellors, shall have the custody of the seal of the palatinate, under which all charters of lands, or otherwise, commissions and grants of the Palatine's court, shall pass. And it shall not be lawful to put the seal of the Palatinate to any writing, which is not signed by the Palatine or his deputy, and three other proprietors

or their deputies. To this court also belong all state matters, dispatches, and treaties with the neighbour Indians. To this court also belong all invasions of the law, of liberty of conscience, and all disturbances of the public peace, upon pretence of religion, as also the licence of printing. The twelve assistants belonging to this court shall be called recorders.

XXXVI. Whatever passes under the seal of the palatinate, shall be registered in that proprietor's court, to which the matter therein contained belongs.

XXXVII. The chancellor or his deputy shall be always speaker in parliament, and president of the grand council, and, in his and his deputy's absence, one of his vice-chancellors.

XXXVIII. The chief justice's court, consisting of one of the proprietors and his six counsellors, who shall be called justices of the bench, shall judge all appeals in cases both civil and criminal, except all such cases as shall be under the jurisdiction and cognizance of any other of the proprietors' courts, which shall be tried in those courts respectively. The government and regulation of the registries of writings and contracts, shall belong to the jurisdiction of this court. The twelve assistants of this court shall be called masters.

XXXIX. The constable's court, consisting of one of the proprietors and his six counsellors, who shall be called marshals, shall order and determine of all military affairs by land, and all land-forces, arms, ammunition, artillery, garrisons, forts, &c. and whatever belongs unto war. His twelve assistants shall be called lieutenant-generals.

XL. In time of actual war, the constable, whilst he is in the army, shall be general of the army, and the six counsellors, or such of them as the Palatine's court shall for that time or service appoint, shall be the immediate great officers under him, and the lieutenant-generals next to them.

XLI. The admiral's court consisting of one of the proprietors and his six counsellors, called consuls, shall have the care and inspection over all ports, moles, and navigable rivers, so far as the tide flows, and also all the public shipping of *Carolina*, and stores thereunto belonging, and all maritime affairs. This court also shall have the power of the court of Admiralty; and shall have power to constitute judges in port-towns, to try cases belonging to law-merchant as shall be most convenient for trade. The twelve assistants, belonging to this court, shall be called proconsuls.

XLII. In time of actual war, the admiral, whilst he is at sea, shall command in chief, and his six counsellors, or such of them as the Palatine's court shall for that time and service appoint, shall be the immediate great officers under him, and the pro-consuls next to them.

XLIII. The treasurer's court, consisting of a proprietor and his six counsellors, called under-treasurers, shall take care of all matters that concern the public revenue and treasury. The twelve assistants shall be called auditors.

XLIV. The high-steward's court, consisting of a proprietor and his six counsellors, called comptrollers, shall have the care of all foreign and domestic trade, manufactures, public buildings, work-houses, high-ways, passages by water above the flood of the tide, drains, sewers, and banks against inundations, bridges, posts, carriers, fairs, markets, corruption or infection of the common air or water, and all things in order to the public commerce and health; also setting out and surveying of lands; and also setting out and appointing places for towns to be built on in the precincts, and the prescribing and determining the figure and bigness of the said towns, according to such models as the said court shall order; contrary or differing from which models it shall not be lawful for any one to build in any town. This court shall have power also to make any public building, or any new high-way, or enlarge any old high-way, upon any man's land whatsoever; as also make cuts, channels, banks, locks, and bridges, for making rivers navigable, or for draining fens, or any other public use. The damage the owner of such lands (on or through which any such public things shall be made) shall receive thereby, shall be valued, and satisfaction made by such ways as the grand council shall appoint. The twelve assistants, belonging to this court, shall be called surveyors.

XLV. The chamberlain's court, consisting of a proprietor and his six counsellors, called vice-chamberlains, shall have the care of all ceremonies, precedence, heraldry, reception of public messengers, pedigrees, the registry of all births, burials, and marriages, legitimation and all cases concerning matrimony, or arising from it; and shall also have power to regulate all fashions, habits, badges, games and sports. To this court also it shall belong to convocate the grand council. The twelve assistants, belonging to this court, shall be called provosts.

XLVI. All causes belonging to, or under the jurisdiction of,

any of the proprietors' courts, shall in them respectively be tried, and ultimately determined, without any further appeal.

XLVII. The proprietors' courts shall have a power to mitigate all fines, and suspend all executions in criminal causes, either before or after sentence, in any of the other inferior courts respectively.

XLVIII. In all debates, hearings, or trials, in any of the proprietors' courts, the twelve assistants belonging to the said courts respectively, shall have liberty to be present, but shall not interpose, unless their opinions be required, nor have any vote at all; but their business shall be, by the direction of the respective courts, to prepare such business as shall be committed to them; as also to bear such offices, and dispatch such affairs, either where the court is kept or elsewhere, as the court shall think fit.

XLIX. In all the proprietor's courts, the proprietor, and any three of his counsellors, shall make a quorum; provided always, that, for the better dispatch of business, it shall be in the power of the Palatine's court to direct what sort of causes shall be heard and determined by a quorum of any three.

L. The grand council shall consist of the Palatine and seven proprietors, and the forty-two counsellors of the several proprietors' courts, who shall have power to determine any controversies that may arise between any of the proprietors' courts, about their respective jurisdictions, or between the members of the same court, about their manner and methods of proceeding; to make peace and war, leagues, treaties, &c. with any of the neighbour Indians; to issue out their general orders to the constable's and admiral's courts, for the raising, disposing, or disbanding the forces, by land or by sea.

LI. The grand council shall prepare all matters to be proposed in parliament. Nor shall any matter whatsoever be proposed in parliament, but what hath first passed the grand council; which, after having been read three several days in the parliament, shall by majority of votes be passed or rejected.

LII. The grand council shall always be judges of all causes and appeals that concern the Palatine, or any of the Lords Proprietors, or any counsellor of any proprietors' court, in any cause, which otherwise should have been tried in the court in which the said counsellor is judge himself.

LIII. The grand council, by their warrants to the treasurer's court shall dispose of all the money given by the parliament, and by them directed to any particular public use.

LIV. The quorum of the grand council shall be thirteen, whereof a proprietor or his deputy shall be always treasurer's court, shall dispose of all the money given by one.

LV. The grand council shall meet the first Tuesday in every month, and as much oftener as either they shall think fit, or they shall be convoked by the chamberlain's court.

LVI. The Palatine, or any of the Lords Proprietors, shall have power, under hand and seal, to be register'd in the grand council, to make a deputy, who shall have the same power to all intents and purposes as he who deposes him; except in confirming acts of parliament, as in § lxxvi, and except also in nominating and chusing landgraves and cassiques, as in § x. All such deputations shall cease and determine at the end of four years, and at any time shall be revocable at the pleasure of the deputator.

LVII. No deputy of any proprietor shall have any power whilst the deputator is in any part of *Carolina*, except the proprietor, whose deputy he is, be a minor.

LVIII. During the minority of any proprietor, his guardian shall have power to constitute and appoint his deputy.

LIX. The eldest of the Lords Proprietors, who shall be personally in *Carolina*, shall of course be the palatine's deputy, and if no proprietor be in *Carolina*, he shall chuse his deputy out of the heirs apparent of any of the proprietors, if any such be there; and if there be no heir apparent of any of the Lords Proprietors above one and twenty years old in *Carolina*, then he shall chuse for deputy any one of the landgraves of the grand council; and till he have by deputation under hand and seal chosen any one of the forementioned heirs apparent or landgraves to be his deputy, the eldest man of the landgraves, and, for want of a landgrave, the eldest man of the cassiques, who shall be personally in *Carolina*, shall of course be his deputy.

LX. Each proprietor's deputy shall be always one of his own six counsellors respectively; and in case any of the proprietors hath not, in his absence out of *Carolina*, a deputy, commissioned under his hand and seal, the eldest nobleman of his court shall of course be his deputy.

LXI. In every county there shall be a court, consisting of a sheriff, and four justices of the county, for every precinct one. The sheriff shall be an inhabitant of the county, and have at least five hundred acres of freehold within the said county; and the justices shall be inhabitants, and have each of them five

hundred acres a-piece freehold within the precinct for which they serve respectively. These five shall be chosen and commissioned from time to time by the Palatine's court.

LXII. For any personal causes exceeding the value of two hundred pounds sterling, or in title of land, or in any criminal cause; either party, upon paying twenty pounds sterling to the Lords Proprietors' use, shall have liberty of appeal from the county-court unto the respective proprietor's court.

LXIII. In every precinct there shall be a court consisting of a steward and four justices of the precinct, being inhabitants, and having three hundred acres of freehold within the said precinct, who shall judge all criminal causes; except for treason, murder, and any other offences punishable with death, and except all criminal causes of the nobility; and shall judge also all civil causes whatsoever; and in all personal actions not exceeding fifty pounds sterling, without appeal; but where the cause shall exceed that value, or concern a title of land, and in all criminal causes; there either party, upon paying five pounds sterling to the Lords Proprietors' use, shall have liberty of appeal to the county court.

LXIV. No cause shall be twice tried in any one court, upon any reason or pretence whatsoever.

LXV. For treason, murder, and all other offences punishable with death, there shall be a commission, twice a year at least, granted unto one or more members of the grand council or colleges, who shall come as itinerant judges to the several counties, and with the sheriff and four justices shall hold assizes to judge all such causes: but, upon paying of fifty pounds sterling to the Lords Proprietors' use, there shall be liberty of appeal to the respective proprietor's court.

LXVI. The grand jury at the several assizes, shall, upon their oaths, and under their hands and seals, deliver in to the itinerant judges a presentment of such grievances, misdemeanors, exigencies, or defects, which they think necessary for the public good of the county; which presentments shall, by the itinerant judges, at the end of their circuit, be delivered in to the grand council at their next sitting. And whatsoever therein concerns the execution of laws already made; the several proprietors' courts, in the matters belonging to each of them respectively, shall take cognizance of it, and give such order about it, as shall be effectual for the due execution of the laws. But whatever concerns the making of any new law, shall be referred to the

several respective courts to which that matter belongs, and be by them prepared and brought to the grand council.

LXVII. For terms, there shall be quarterly such a certain number of days, not exceeding one and twenty at one time, as the several respective courts shall appoint. The time for the beginning of the term, in the precinct court, shall be the first Monday in January, April, July, and October; in the county court, the first Monday in February, May, August, and November; and in the proprietors' courts, the first Monday in March, June, September, and December.

LXVIII. In the precinct-court no man shall be a jury-man under fifty acres of freehold. In the county-court, or at the assizes, no man shall be a grand jury-man under three hundred acres of freehold: and no man shall be a petty jury-man under two hundred acres of freehold. In the proprietors' courts no man shall be a jury-man under five hundred acres of freehold.

LXIX. Every jury shall consist of twelve men; and it shall not be necessary they should all agree, but the verdict shall be according to the consent of the majority.

LXX. It shall be a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward; nor shall any one (except he be a near kinsman, not farther off than a cousin-german to the party concerned) be permitted to plead another man's cause, till, before the judge in open court, he hath taken an oath, that he doth not plead for money or reward, nor hath nor will receive, nor directly nor indirectly bargained with the party, whose cause he is going to plead, for money or any other reward for pleading his cause.

LXXI. There shall be a parliament, consisting of the proprietors or their deputies, the landgraves, cassiques, and one freeholder out of every precinct, to be chosen by the freeholders of the said precinct respectively. They shall sit all together in one room, and have every member one vote.

LXXII. No man shall be chosen a member of parliament, who hath less than five hundred acres of freehold within the precinct for which he is chosen; nor shall any have a vote in chusing the said member that hath less than fifty acres of freehold within the said precinct.

LXXIII. A new parliament shall be assembled the first Monday of the month of November every second year, and shall meet and sit in the town they last sat in, without any summons, unless by the Palatine's court they be summoned to meet at any other place. And if there shall be any occasion of a parliament

in these intervals, it shall be in the power of the Palatine's court to assemble them in forty days' notice, and at such time as the said court shall think fit; and the Palatine's court shall have power to dissolve the said parliament when they shall think fit.

LXXIV. At the opening of every parliament, the first thing that shall be done, shall be the reading of these *Fundamental Constitutions*, which the Palatine and proprietors, and the rest of the members then present, shall subscribe. Nor shall any person whatsoever sit or vote in the parliament, till he hath that session subscribed these *Fundamental Constitutions*, in a book kept for that purpose by the clerk of the parliament.

LXXV. In order to the due election of members for the biennial parliament, it shall be lawful for the freeholders of the respective precincts to meet the first Tuesday in September every two years, in the same town or place that they last met in, to chuse parliament-men: and there chuse those members that are to sit the next November following, unless the steward of the precinct shall, by sufficient notice thirty days before, appoint some other place for their meeting, in order to the election.

LXXVI. No act or order of parliament shall be of any force, unless it be ratified in open parliament during the same session, by the Palatine or his deputy, and three more of the Lords Proprietors or their deputies; and then not to continue longer in force but until the next biennial parliament, unless in the mean time it be ratified under the hands and seals of the Palatine himself, and three more of the Lords Proprietors themselves, and by their order published at the next biennial parliament.

LXXVII. Any proprietor or his deputy may enter his protestation against any act of the parliament, before the Palatine, or his deputy's consent be given as aforesaid; if he shall conceive the said act to be contrary to this establishment, or any of these *Fundamental Constitutions* of the government. And in such case, after full and free debate, the several estates shall retire into four several chambers; the Palatine and proprietors into one; the landgraves into another; and those chosen by the precincts into a fourth: and if the major part of any of the four estates shall vote that the law is not agreeable to this establishment, and these *Fundamental Constitutions* of the government, then it shall pass no farther, but be as if it had never been proposed.

LXXVIII. The quorum of the parliament shall be one half of those who are members, and capable of sitting in the house that present session of parliament. The quorum of each of

the chambers of parliament shall be one half of the members of that chamber.

LXXIX. To avoid multiplicity of laws, which by degrees always change the right foundations of the original government, all acts of parliament whatsoever, in whatsoever form passed or enacted, shall, at the end of an hundred years after their enacting, respectively cease and determine of themselves, and without any repeal become null and void, as if no such acts or laws had ever been made.

LXXX. Since multiplicity of comments, as well as of laws, have great inconveniences, and serve only to obscure and perplex; all manner of comments and expositions on any part of these *Fundamental Constitutions*, or any part of the common or statute law of *Carolina*, are absolutely prohibited.

LXXXI. There shall be a registry in every precinct, wherein shall be enrolled all deeds, leases, judgments, mortgages, and other conveyances, which may concern any of the land within the said precinct; and all such conveyances not so entered or registered shall not be of force against any person nor party to the said contract or conveyance.

LXXXII. No man shall be register of any precinct, who hath not at least three hundred acres of freehold within the said precinct.

LXXXIII. The freeholders of every precinct shall nominate three men: out of which three the chief justice's court shall chuse and commission one to be register of the said precinct, whilst he shall well behave himself.

LXXXIV. There shall be a registry in every signiory, barony, and colony, wherein shall be recorded all the births, marriages, and deaths, that shall happen within the respective signiories, baronies, and colonies.

LXXXV. No man shall be register of a colony, that hath not above fifty acres of freehold within the said colony.

LXXXVI. The time of every one's age, that is born in *Carolina*, shall be reckoned from the day that his birth is entered in the registry and not before.

LXXXVII. No marriage shall be lawful, whatever contract and ceremony they have used, till both the parties mutually own it before the register of the place where they were married, and he register it, with the name of the father and mother of each party.

LXXXVIII. No man shall administer to the goods, or have

right to them, or enter upon the estate of any person deceased, till his death be registered in the respective registry.

LXXXIX. He that doth not enter in the respective registry, the birth or death of any person that is born or dies in his house or ground, shall pay to the said register one shiling per week for each such neglect, reckoning from the time of each birth or death respectively, to the time of registering it.

XC. In like manner the births, marriages, and deaths of the Lords Proprietors, Landgraves, and Cassiques, shall be registered in the chamberlain's court.

XCI. There shall be in every colony one constable, to be chosen annually by the freeholders of the colony; his estate shall be above a hundred acres of freehold within the said colony, and such subordinate officers appointed for his as the county-court shall find requisite, and shall be established by the said county-court. The election of the subordinate annual officers shall be also in the freeholders of the colony.

XCII. All towns incorporate shall be governed by a mayor, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four of the common council. The said common-council shall be chosen by present householders of the said town: the aldermen shall be chosen out of the common-council; and the mayor out of the aldermen by the Palatine's court.

XCIII. It being of great consequence to the plantation, that Port-Towns should be built and preserved; therefore, whosoever shall lade or unlade any commodity at any other place but a Port-Town, shall forfeit to the Lords Proprietors for each tun so laden or unladen, the sum of ten pounds sterling; except only such goods as the Palatine's court shall license to be laden or unladen elsewhere.

XCIV. The first port-town upon every river shall be in a colony, and be a port-town for ever.

XCV. No man shall be permitted to be a freeman of *Carolina*, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a GOD; and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped.

XCVI. [As the country comes to be sufficiently planted and distributed into fit divisions, it shall belong to the parliament to take care for the building of churches, and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, according to the church of England; which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's domin-

ions, is so also of *Carolina*; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive a public maintenance, by grant of parliament.*]

XCVII. But since the natives of that place who will be concerned in our plantation, are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance, or mistake, gives us no right to expel, or use them ill; and those who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out; that civil peace may be maintained amidst the diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed; the violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to almighty God, and great scandal to the true religion, which we profess; and also that Jews, Heathens, and other dissenters from the purity of Christian religion, may not be feared and kept at a distance from it, but, by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness suitable to the rules and design of the gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth; therefore, any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name, to distinguish it from others.

XCVIII. The terms of admittance and communion with any church or profession, shall be written in a book, and therein be subscribed by all the members of the said church or profession; which book shall be kept by the public register of the precinct where they reside.

XCIV. The time of every one's subscription and admittance shall be dated in the said book of religious record.

C. In the terms of communion of every church or profession, these following shall be three; without which no agreement or assembly of men, under pretence of religion, shall be accounted a church or profession within these rules:

1. "That there is a GOD.
2. "That GOD is publicly to be worshipped.

*This article was not drawn up by Mr. Locke, but inserted by some of the chief of the proprietors, against his judgment; as Mr. Locke himself informed one of his friends, to whom he presented a copy of these Constitutions.

3. "That it is lawful and the duty of every man, being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear witness to truth; and that every church or profession shall, in their terms of communion, set down the external way whereby they witness a truth as in the presence of GOD, whether it be by laying hands on, or kissing the Bible, as in the church of England, or by holding up the hand, or any other sensible way."

CI. No person above seventeen years of age shall have any benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of profit or honour, who is not a member of some church or profession, having his name recorded in some one, and but one religious record at once.

CII. No person of any other church or profession shall disturb or molest any religious assembly.

CIII. No person whatsoever shall speak any thing in their religious assembly irreverently or seditiously of the government, or governors, or state matters.

CIV. Any person subscribing the terms of communion in the record of the said church or profession, before the precinct register, and any five members of the said church or profession, shall be thereby made a member of the said church or profession.

CV. Any person striking out his own name out of any religious record, or his name being struck out by any officer thereunto authorised by each church or profession respectively, shall cease to be a member of that church or profession.

CVI. No man shall use any reproachful, reviling, or abusive language, against the religion of any church or profession: that being the certain way of disturbing the peace, and of hindering the conversion of any to the truth, by engaging them in quarrels and animosities, to the hatred of the professors and that profession, which otherwise they might be brought to assent to.

CVII. Since charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate or right, it shall be lawful for slaves, as well as others, to enter themselves and be of what church or profession any of them shall think best, and therefore be as fully members as any freeman. But yet no slave shall hereby be exempted from that civil dominion his master hath over him, but be in all other things in the same state and condition he was in before.

CVIII. Assemblies upon what pretence soever of religion, not observing and performing the abovesaid rules, shall not be

esteemed churches, but unlawful meetings, and be punished as other riots.

CIX. No person whatsoever shall disturb, molest, or persecute another for his speculative opinions in religion, or his way of worship.

CX. Every freeman of *Carolina* shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.

CXI. No cause, whether civil or criminal, of any freeman, shall be tried in any court of judicature, without a jury of his peers.

CXII. No person whatsoever shall hold or claim any land in *Carolina* by purchase or gift, or otherwise, from the natives, or any other whatsoever; but merely from and under the Lords Proprietors; upon pain of forfeiture of all his estate, moveable or immoveable, and perpetual banishment.

CXIII. Whosoever shall possess any freehold in *Carolina*, upon what grant or title soever, shall, at the farthest, from and after the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, pay yearly unto the Lords Proprietors for each acre of land, English measure, as much fine silver as is at this present in one English penny, or the value thereof, to be as a chief rent and acknowledgment to the Lords Proprietors, their heirs and successors for ever. And it shall be lawful for the Palatine's court, by their officers at any time, to take a new survey of any man's land, not to out him of any part of his possession, but that by such a survey the just number of acres he possesseth may be known, and the rent thereupon due may be paid by him.

CXIV. All wrecks, mines, minerals, quarries of gems, and precious stones, with pearl-fishing, whale-fishing, and one half of all ambergrease, by whomsoever found, shall wholly belong to the Lords Proprietors.

CXV. All revenues and profits belonging to the Lords Proprietors in common shall be divided into ten parts, whereof the Palatine shall have three, and each proprietor one; but if the Palatine shall govern by a deputy, his deputy shall have one of those three tenths, and the Palatine the other two tenths.

CXVI. All inhabitants and freemen of *Carolina* above seventeen years of age, and under sixty, shall be bound to bear arms, and serve as soldiers whenever the grand council shall find it necessary.

CXVII. A true copy of these *Fundamental Constitutions* shall

be kept in a great book by the register of every precinct, to be subscribed before the said register. Nor shall any person, of what condition or degree soever, above seventeen years old, have any estate or possession in *Carolina*, or protection or benefit of the law there, who hath not before a precinct register subscribed these *Fundamental Constitutions* in this form:

"I A. B. do promise to bear faith and true allegiance to our sovereign lord king *Charles* the Second, his heirs and successors; and will be true and faithful to the Palatine and Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, their heirs and successors; and with my utmost power will defend them and maintain the government according to this establishment in these *Fundamental Constitutions*."

CXVIII. Whatsoever alien shall, in this form, before any precinct register, subscribe these *Fundamental Constitutions*, shall be thereby naturalized.

CXIX. In the same manner shall every person, at his admittance into any office, subscribe these *Fundamental Constitutions*.

CXX. These *Fundamental Constitutions*, in number a hundred and twenty, and every part thereof, shall be and remain the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of *Carolina* for ever. Witness our hands and seals, the first day of March, 1669.

RULES OF PRECEDENCY.

I. The Lords Proprietors; the eldest in age first, and so in order.

II. The eldest sons of the Lords Proprietors; the eldest in age first, and so in order.

III. The landgraves of the grand council; he that hath been longest of the grand council first, and so in order.

IV. The cassiques of the grand council; he that hath been longest of the grand council first, and so in order.

V. The seven commoners of the grand council that have been longest of the grand council; he that hath been longest of the grand council first, and so in order.

VI. The younger sons of proprietors; the eldest first, and so in order.

VII. The landgraves; the eldest in age first, and so in order.

VIII. The seven commoners, who next to those before-mentioned, have been longest of the grand council; he that hath been longest of the grand council first, and so in order.

IX. The cassiques; the eldest in age first, and so in order.

X. The seven remaining commoners of the grand council; he that hath been longest of the grand council first, and so in order.

XI. The male line of the proprietors.

The rest shall be determined by the chamberlain's court.

JOHN LOCKE AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS OF CAROLINA.

In 1663, all earlier patents being revoked, this district, now known as Carolina, was given by Charles the Second to eight "lords proprietors," Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton. Of these patentees Ashley was the most active and influential; and thus it happened that Locke, being Ashley's principal adviser and assistant, became in some sort of irregular way the chief secretary or manager of the whole company of lords proprietors of Carolina. His conduct in this new position shows something more than the versatility of his talents and the superabundance of his energy.

A little had been done, without much prudence, before Locke became interested in the matter; but the real work began in April, 1669, when the proprietors undertook to contribute 500*l.* apiece towards the fitting out of an expedition, and steps were immediately taken for putting the money to good use. All was ready by the 10th of August, when the good ship *Carolina*, with eighty-six men and six women on board, including officers, crew, and passengers, started for the new colony, along with a smaller craft, the *Port Royal*, and a little sloop, the *Albemarle*, as to the number of whose officers, crews, and passengers we are not informed. The *Carolina* cost 930*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.*, the *Port Royal* 199*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*, and the *Albemarle* 82*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*; and the entire charges for fitting out these vessels, including the wages of the seamen, made a total of 3200*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* for the whole preliminary expense of this first English expedition in aid of the stragglers and small groups of emigrants from other colonies who had begun to take irregular possession of some corners of the province. The expedition seems small when compared with the exploits of more recent times. But it was a great one for that day, and no little labor and good management were required in buying and fitting out the ships, and in getting them afloat, between the end of April and the middle of August. Those were busy months for all who had the management of the enterprise; and, Exeter House being its headquarters, and Locke its principal superintendent, there can be no doubt that he had plenty of work on his hands that summer.

To him, moreover, was specially assigned a much more delicate, and doubtless a much more congenial, task than the superintendence of this business. No young colony can thrive without adequate supplies of food, clothing, and the like; and many hopeful ventures failed in old times for lack of these. But quite as frequent a cause of failure was bad government, amid a profusion of material resources; and good government is a harder thing to provide than money and provisions. Wonderful pains were taken to provide good government for Carolina, and perhaps no colony was ever started with a more elaborate scheme of political, social, and religious organization. Locke had a large share in this work, though there can hardly be any doubt that it was initiated by Lord Ashley, and modified by his fellow-proprietors. The scheme that was produced agrees entirely with all we know of Lord Ashley's theoretical opinions, and his notion of the ways in which they should be put into practice, while some of those opinions are distinctly at variance with the views which Locke had already expressed in his "Essay concerning Toleration" and his "Reflections upon the Roman Commonwealth," and which he long afterwards expressed in almost identical terms in his published writings. There is such close resemblance, however, between some of its provisions and some of the views which Locke had set on record before his acquaintance with Lord Ashley began that he must certainly have had a share, not only in its detailed working out, but also in its original concoction. We may safely assume, accordingly, that it grew out of conferences in which Locke took part in his undefined capacity of secretary, and that to him was intrusted the task of setting forth the results of those conferences in orderly and intelligible shape, without power of altering the conditions that had already been agreed upon.

The scheme was set forth in "The Fundamental Constitutions for the Government of Carolina," of which there is extant a draft in Locke's handwriting, dated the 21st of June, 1669, and which, with some alterations, were issued by the proprietors on the 1st of March, 1669-70. It attempted to adapt to the circumstances and exigencies of the new colony a comprehensive and overwhelming system of feudal government, tempered, however, by a remarkable liberality in religious affairs. It is in the latter respect only that we have any means of estimating the extent of Locke's share in the projecting of these "Constitutions," apart from his proper business as a draughtsman; and therefore it will suffice to call attention to the clauses by which a large measure of religious liberty was secured for Carolina.

"No man," it is stipulated in the first of these clauses, "shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God, and that God is publicly to be worshipped." Whether Locke initiated that rule, we have no means of knowing; but his views expressed elsewhere clearly show that he agreed with it. The next clause, however, we are told, "was not drawn up by Mr. Locke, but inserted by some of the chief of the

proprietors, against his judgment, as Mr. Locke himself informed one of his friends." "As the country comes to be sufficiently planted and distributed into fit divisions," it was there appointed, "it shall belong to the parliament to take care for the building of churches and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion according to the church of England, which, being the only true and orthodox and the national religion of the king's dominions, is also of Carolina, and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of parliament." By comparing that clause with those that follow, we shall be able to measure their liberality, such liberality as few men besides Locke, in his day, would have been likely to advocate. . . .

Whether Locke originated those generous arrangements or not, he was certainly responsible for the wording of them, in which the generosity was clearly expressed; and it is strange that either he or Lord Ashley, who agreed with him in this matter, should have been able to persuade the other proprietors of Carolina to accede to such provisions. You must believe in God and consent to worship him, and you must make no secret of your belief, or your form of worship, if you want to settle in Carolina, they said in effect to all would-be emigrants; but that is all we require of you. Any seven or more of you may adopt any sort of notion about God, and any plan for worshipping him, that commend themselves to your judgments, provided of course that the freedom claimed by you does not interfere with the freedom of other persons; and not only shall you be allowed to hold your beliefs and opinions without any restraint, but you shall also be protected by the state from all sorts of interference with you in doing so.

No other colony, English or foreign, was ever started with such guarantees for "liberty of conscience," and it is well to remember that, long after the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina" had been formally abrogated, the moral authority of these guarantees remained in force, and that, in consequence of them, Carolina became a much freer asylum for religious outcasts from Europe than either Massachusetts or Pennsylvania.

The political and territorial arrangements of the "Constitutions" never actually came into operation. Issued first in 1670, they were reissued, with some modifications, in 1682, and again, with more important modifications, in 1698. But the real institutions of the colony were home-grown and developed out of experience, and the supremacy of the lords proprietors was virtually repudiated long before Carolina, by this time divided into two prosperous communities, became part of the United States — *H. R. Fox Bourne*

The valuable chapter upon the Carolinas, by Professor William J. Rivers, in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, is followed by a critical essay on the sources of information by Mr. Winsor himself, to which the student is referred for a very complete bibliography, covering the later as well as the earlier histories. See also the references to

he Carolinas in Channing and Hart's Guide to American History. The Fundamental Constitutions of 1669 are reprinted in the present leaflet from the text in Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, ii. The selection from the Life of John Locke (i. 236), by H. R. Fox Bourne, which is also printed in the leaflet, gives the best account of Locke's interesting connection with the Fundamental Constitutions. As stated by Mr. Fox Bourne in the passage printed, the political and territorial provisions of this remarkable Constitution never came into actual operation, being utterly unsuited to the conditions of a colony of pioneers in a new country. Quite different institutions from those contemplated by Ashley and Locke were evolved in Carolina naturally and in due course. The interest of this famous document is purely academic; but Locke's association with it makes it memorable. Consider, in connection with it, Algernon Sidney's assistance to William Penn in the preparation of the Frame of Government for Pennsylvania.

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The Rights of the Colonists

BY SAMUEL ADAMS.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE TO THE BOSTON
TOWN MEETING, NOV. 20, 1772.

I. *Natural Rights of the Colonists as Men.*

Among the natural rights of the Colonists are these: *First*, a right to life; *Secondly*, to liberty; *Thirdly*, to property; together with the right to support and defend them in the best manner they can. These are evident branches of, rather than deductions from, the duty of self-preservation, commonly called the first law of nature.

All men have a right to remain in a state of nature as long as they please; and in case of intolerable oppression, civil or religious, to leave the society they belong to, and enter into another.

When men enter into society, it is by voluntary consent; and they have a right to demand and insist upon the performance of such conditions and previous limitations as form an equitable *original compact*.

Every natural right not expressly given up, or, from the nature of a social compact, necessarily ceded, remains.

All positive and civil laws should conform, as far as possible, to the law of natural reason and equity.

As neither reason requires nor religion permits the contrary, every man living in or out of a state of civil society has a right peaceably and quietly to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.

"Just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty," in matters spiritual and temporal, is a thing that all men are clearly entitled to by the eternal and immutable laws of God and nat-

ure, as well as by the law of nations and all well-grounded municipal laws, which must have their foundation in the former.

In regard to religion, mutual toleration in the different professions thereof is what all good and candid minds in all ages have ever practised, and, both by precept and example, inculcated on mankind. And it is now generally agreed among Christians that this spirit of toleration, in the fullest extent consistent with the being of civil society, is the chief characteristic mark of the Church.* Insomuch that Mr. Locke has asserted and proved, beyond the possibility of contradiction on any solid ground, that such toleration ought to be extended to all whose doctrines are not subversive of society. The only sects which he thinks ought to be, and which by all wise laws are excluded from such toleration, are those who teach doctrines subversive of the civil government under which they live. The Roman Catholics or Papists are excluded by reason of such doctrines as these, that princes excommunicated may be deposed, and those that they call heretics may be destroyed without mercy; besides their recognizing the Pope in so absolute a manner, in subversion of government, by introducing, as far as possible into the states under whose protection they enjoy life, liberty, and property, that solecism in politics, *imperium in imperio*, leading directly to the worst anarchy and confusion, civil discord, war, and bloodshed.†

The natural liberty of man, by entering into society, is abridged or restrained, so far only as is necessary for the great end of society, the best good of the whole.

In the state of nature every man is, under God, judge and sole judge of his own rights and of the injuries done him. By entering into society he agrees to an arbiter or indifferent judge between him and his neighbors; but he no more renounces his original right than by taking a cause out of the ordinary course of law, and leaving the decision to referees or indifferent arbitrators. In the last case, he must pay the referees for time and trouble. He should also be willing to pay his just quota for the support of government, the law, and the constitution; the end of which is to furnish indifferent and impartial judges in all cases that may happen, whether civil, ecclesiastical, marine, or military.

* See Locke's Letters on Toleration.

† Political disabilities were not removed from the Catholics in England until 1829.—
Editor.

The *natural* liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but only to have the law of nature for his rule.*

In the state of nature men may, as the patriarchs did, employ hired servants for the defence of their lives, liberties, and property; and they should pay them reasonable wages. Government was instituted for the purposes of common defence, and those who hold the reins of government have an equitable, natural right to an honorable support from the same principle that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." But then the same community which they serve ought to be the assessors of their pay. Governors have no right to seek and take what they please; by this, instead of being content with the station assigned them, that of honorable servants of the society, they would soon become absolute masters, despots, and tyrants. Hence, as a private man has a right to say what wages he will give in his private affairs, so has a community to determine what *they* will give and grant of their substance for the administration of public affairs. And, in both cases, more are ready to offer their service at the proposed and stipulated price than are able and willing to perform their duty.

In short, it is the greatest absurdity to suppose it in the power of one, or any number of men, at the entering into society, to renounce their essential natural rights, or the means of preserving those rights; when the grand end of civil government, from the very nature of its institution, is for the support, protection, and defence of those very rights; the principal of which, as is before observed, are Life, Liberty, and Property. If men, through fear, fraud, or mistake, should in terms renounce or give up any essential natural right, the eternal law of reason and the grand end of society would absolutely vacate such renunciation. The right to freedom being the gift of God Almighty, it is not in the power of man to alienate this gift and voluntarily become a slave.

II. *The Rights of the Colonists as Christians.*

These may be best understood by reading and carefully studying the institutes of the great Law Giver and Head of the Christian Church, which are to be found clearly written and promulgated in the New Testament.

■ Locke on Government.

By the act of the British Parliament, commonly called the Toleration Act, every subject in England, except Papists, &c., was restored to, and re-established in, his natural right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. And, by the charter of this Province, it is granted, ordained, and established (that is, declared as an original right) that there shall be liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all Christians, except Papists, inhabiting, or which shall inhabit or be resident within, such Province or Territory.* *Magna Charta* itself is in substance but a constrained declaration or proclamation and promulgation in the name of the King, Lords, and Commons, of the sense the latter had of their original, inherent, indefeasible natural rights,† as also those of free citizens equally perdurable with the other. That great author, that great jurist, and even that court writer, Mr. Justice Blackstone, holds that this recognition was justly obtained of King John, sword in hand. And peradventure it must be one day, sword in hand, again rescued and preserved from total destruction and oblivion.

III. *The Rights of the Colonists as Subjects.*

A commonwealth or state is a body politic, or civil society of men, united together to promote their mutual safety and prosperity by means of their union.‡

The absolute rights of Englishmen and all freemen, in or out of civil society, are principally personal security, personal liberty, and private property.

All persons born in the British American Colonies are, by the laws of God and nature and by the common law of England, exclusive of all charters from the Crown, well entitled, and by acts of the British Parliament are declared to be entitled, to all the natural, essential, inherent, and inseparable rights, liberties, and privileges of subjects born in Great Britain or within the realm. Among those rights are the following, which no man, or body of men, consistently with their own rights as men and citizens, or members of society, can for themselves give up or take away from others.

* See 1 Wm. and Mary, St. 2, c. 18, and Massachusetts Charter.

† Lord Coke's Inst. Blackstone's Commentaries, VI. p. 122. The Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement.

‡ See Locke and Vattel.

First, "The first fundamental, positive law of all commonwealths or states is the establishing the legislative power. As the first fundamental *natural* law, also, which is to govern even the legislative power itself, is the preservation of the society."*

Secondly, The Legislative has no right to absolute, arbitrary power over the lives and fortunes of the people; nor can mortals assume a prerogative not only too high for men, but for angels, and therefore reserved for the exercise of the Deity alone.

"The Legislative cannot justly assume to itself a power to rule by extempore arbitrary decrees; but it is bound to see that justice is dispensed, and that the rights of the subjects be decided by promulgated, standing, and known laws, and authorized *independent judges*"; that is, independent, as far as possible, of Prince and people. "There should be one rule of justice for rich and poor, for the favorite at court, and the countryman at the plough."†

Thirdly, The supreme power cannot justly take from any man any part of his property, without his consent in person or by his representative.

These are some of the first principles of natural law and justice, and the great barriers of all free states and of the British Constitution in particular. It is utterly irreconcilable to these principles and to many other fundamental maxims of the common law, common sense, and reason that a British House of Commons should have a right at pleasure to give and grant the property of the Colonists. (That the Colonists are well entitled to all the essential rights, liberties, and privileges of men and freemen born in Britain is manifest not only from the Colony charters in general, but acts of the British Parliament.) The statute of the 13th of Geo. 2, c. 7, naturalizes even foreigners after seven years' residence. The words of the Massachusetts charter are these: "And further, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heirs, and successors, grant, establish, and ordain, that all and every of the subjects of us, our heirs, and successors, which shall go to, and inhabit within our said Province or Territory, and every of their children, which shall happen to be born there or on the seas in going thither or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within any of the domin-

* Locke on Government. *Salus populi suprema lex esto.*

† Locke.

ions of us, our heirs, and successors, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever, as if they and every one of them were born within this our realm of England."

Now what liberty can there be where property is taken away without consent? Can it be said with any color of truth and justice, that this continent of three thousand miles in length, and of a breadth as yet unexplored, in which, however, it is supposed there are five millions of people, has the least voice, vote, or influence in the British Parliament? Have they all together any more weight or power to return a single member to that House of Commons who have not inadvertently, but deliberately, assumed a power to dispose of their lives, liberties, and properties, than to choose an Emperor of China? Had the Colonists a right to return members to the British Parliament, it would only be hurtful; as, from their local situation and circumstances, it is impossible they should ever be truly and properly represented there. The inhabitants of this country, in all probability, in a few years, will be more numerous than those of Great Britain and Ireland together; yet it is absurdly expected by the promoters of the present measures that these, with their posterity to all generations, should be easy, while their property shall be disposed of by a House of Commons at three thousand miles' distance from them, and who cannot be supposed to have the least care or concern for their real interest; who have not only no natural care for their interest, but must be *in effect* bribed against it, as every burden they lay on the Colonists is so much saved or gained to themselves. Hitherto, many of the Colonists have been free from quit rents; but if the breath of a British House of Commons can originate an act for taking away all our money, our lands will go next, or be subject to rack rents from haughty and relentless landlords, who will ride at ease, while we are trodden in the dirt. The Colonists have been branded with the odious names of traitors and rebels only for complaining of their grievances. How long such treatment will or ought to be borne, is submitted.

FRANKLIN'S PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, PUBLISHED BY HIM IMMEDIATELY AFTER HE RECEIVED IT IN LONDON.

All accounts of the discontent so general in our colonies have of late years been industriously smothered and concealed here; it seeming to suit the views of the American minister [Lord Hillsborough], to have it understood that by his great abilities all faction was subdued, all opposition suppressed, and the whole country quieted. That the true state of affairs there may be known, and the true causes of that discontent well understood, the following piece (not the production of a private writer, but the unanimous act of a large American city), lately printed in New England, is republished here. This nation, and the other nations of Europe, may thereby learn, with more certainty, the grounds of a dissension that possibly may, sooner or later, have consequences interesting to them all.

The colonies had from their first settlement been governed with more ease than perhaps can be equalled by any instance in history of dominions so distant. Their affection and respect for this country, while they were treated with kindness, produced an almost implicit obedience to the instructions of the Prince, and even to acts of the British Parliament; though the right of binding them by a legislature in which they were unrepresented was never clearly understood. That respect and affection produced a partiality in favor of everything that was English; whence their preference of English modes and manufactures; their submission to restraints on the importation of foreign goods, which they had but little desire to use; and the monopoly we so long enjoyed of their commerce, to the great enriching of our merchants and artificers.

The mistaken policy of the Stamp Act first disturbed this happy situation; but the flame thereby raised was soon extinguished by its repeal, and the old harmony restored, with all its concomitant advantage to our commerce. The subsequent act of another administration, which, not content with an established exclusion of foreign manufactures, began to make our own merchandise dearer to the consumers there, by heavy duties, revived it again; and combinations were entered into throughout the continent to stop trading with Britain till those duties should be repealed. All were accordingly repealed but

one, *the duty on tea*. This was reserved (professedly so) as a standing claim and exercise of the right assumed by Parliament of laying such duties.

The colonies, on this repeal, retracted their agreement, so far as related to all other goods, except that on which the duty was retained. This was trumpeted here by the minister for the colonies as a triumph; there it was considered only as a decent and equitable measure, showing a willingness to meet the mother country in every advance towards a reconciliation, and a disposition to a good understanding so prevalent that possibly they might soon have relaxed in the article of tea also. But the system of commissioners of customs, officers without end, with fleets and armies for collecting and enforcing those duties, being continued, and these acting with much indiscretion and rashness (giving great and unnecessary trouble and obstruction to business, commencing unjust and vexatious suits, and harassing commerce in all its branches, while that the minister kept the people in a constant state of irritation by instructions which appeared to have no other end than the gratifying his private resentments), occasioned a persevering adherence to their resolutions in that particular; and the event should be a lesson to ministers not to risk through pique the obstructing any one branch of trade; since the course and connection of general business may be thereby disturbed to a degree impossible to be foreseen or imagined. For it appears that the colonies finding their humble petitions to have this duty repealed were rejected and treated with contempt, and that the produce of the duty was applied to the rewarding with undeserved salaries and pensions every one of their enemies, the duty itself became more odious, and their resolution to share it more vigorous and obstinate.

The Dutch, the Danes, and French took this opportunity thus offered them by our imprudence, and began to smuggle their teas into the plantation. At first this was something difficult; but at length, as all business is improved by practice, it became easy. A coast fifteen hundred miles in length could not in all parts be guarded, even by the whole navy of England; especially when their restraining authority was by all the inhabitants deemed unconstitutional, the smuggling of course considered as patriotism. The needy wretches, too, who, with small salaries, were trusted to watch the ports day and night, in all weathers, found it easier and more profitable not only to

wink, but to sleep in their beds; the merchant's pay being more generous than the King's. Other India goods, also, which, by themselves, would not have made a smuggling voyage sufficiently profitable, accompanied tea to advantage; and it is feared the cheap French silks, formerly rejected, as not to the tastes of the colonies, may have found their way with the wares of India, and now established themselves in the popular use and opinion.

It is supposed that at least a million of Americans drink tea twice a day, which, at the first cost here, can scarce be reckoned at less than half a guinea a head per annum. This market, that in the five years which have run on since the act passed, would have paid two million five hundred thousand guineas for tea alone, into the coffers of the Company, we have wantonly lost to foreigners.

Meanwhile it is said the duties have so diminished that the whole remittance of the last year amounted to no more than the pitiful sum of eighty-five pounds, for the expense of some hundred thousands, in armed ships and soldiers, to support the officers. Hence the tea, and other India goods, which might have been sold in America, remain rotting in the Company's warehouses; while those of foreign ports are known to be cleared by the American demand. Hence, in some degree, the Company's inability to pay their bills; the sinking of their stock, by which millions of property have been annihilated; the lowering of their dividend, whereby so many must be distressed; the loss to government of the stipulated four hundred thousand pounds a year, which must make a proportionable reduction in our savings towards the discharge of our enormous debt; and hence, in part, the severe blow suffered by credit in general, to the ruin of many families; the stagnation of business in Spital-fields and Manchester, through want of vent for their goods; with other future evils, which, as they cannot, from the numerous and secret connections in general commerce, easily be foreseen, can hardly be avoided.

Mr. Adams's motion, creating the Committee of Correspondence, had specified three distinct duties to be performed,—to draw up a statement of the rights of the Colonists as men, as Christians, and as subjects; a declaration of the infringement and violation of those rights; and a letter to be sent to the several towns in the Province and to the world as the sense of the town. The drafting of the first

was assigned to Samuel Adams, the second to Joseph Warren, and the last to Benjamin Church.

When the reports of the several committees were prepared, they were presented on the 20th of November to a town meeting at Faneuil Hall by James Otis, who now, as chairman, made his final appearance in public,—the wreck of one of the most brilliant men of genius that America has produced, but yet sustained by the care and sympathy of some friends and the tender reverence of the people, whose cause he had ever ardently and sincerely supported.

"Samuel Adams," says Hutchinson, writing to a friend, "had prepared a long report, but he let Otis appear in it"; and again, in another letter: "the Grand Incendiary of the Province prepared a long report for a committee appointed by the town, in which, after many principles inferring independence were laid down, many resolves followed, all of them tending to sedition and mutiny, and some of them expressly denying Parliamentary authority."

The report created a powerful sensation, both in America and in England, where it was for some time attributed to Franklin, by whom it was republished. It is divided into the three subjects specified in the original motion. The first, in three subdivisions, considering the rights of the Colonists as men, as Christians, and as subjects, was from the pen of Samuel Adams; his original draft, together with the preparatory rough notes or headings, being in perfect preservation. It is important, not only as a platform upon which were afterwards built many of the celebrated state papers of the Revolution, but as the first fruits of the Committee of Correspondence.

The error of John Adams, when, fifty years afterwards, he attributed this pamphlet to James Otis, gave rise to some interesting letters from both Jefferson and Adams a few years before their death. John Adams, while questioning the credit due to Jefferson, as the author of the Declaration of Independence, had called that document a "recapitulation" of the Declaration of Rights by the Congress of 1774; and, again, writing to Mr. Pickering, he says: "As you justly observe, there is not an idea in it [the Declaration of Independence] but what had been hackneyed in Congress two years before. The substance of it is contained in the Declaration of Rights, and the Violations of those Rights, in the journals of Congress in 1774. Indeed, the essence of it is contained in a pamphlet voted and printed by the town of Boston before the first Congress met, composed by James Otis, as I suppose, in one of his lucid intervals, and pruned and polished by Samuel Adams." *John Adams's Works*, II. 514.

The fact that Otis was allowed to present the report as his final public act may have given John Adams this impression; for, at this time (1772), he himself took no part in public affairs, but devoted his time to professional pursuits. Otis, however, had nothing to do with preparing the paper, and, to the grief of his friends and his country, had long been incapable of any public service. Jefferson, adopting

the "supposition" of John Adams as to the authorship of the "Rights of the Colonists," wrote to Mr. Madison a year later that the "Otis pamphlet he never saw," and upon this his biographer, continuing the subject in defence of Jefferson's originality, refers repeatedly to the pamphlet in question as the production of Otis. (Randall's Jefferson, I. 189.) There certainly is a similarity between the "Rights of the Colonists" in 1772 and the "Declaration of Rights" in 1774, and between them both and the Declaration of Independence; but, as all are founded on the time-honored principles of Locke, Hooker, Sydney, and Harrington, some of whom are duly quoted by Samuel Adams in his treatise, the disputes as to the originality are needless.

But John Adams's memory failed him in relation to the Declaration of Rights made by the first Congress, as well as in attributing the pamphlet now under consideration to James Otis. He implies that there were two Declarations, the one of Rights, and the other of Violations, which is manifestly incorrect. It would seem, too, that any attempt to lessen the credit of Jefferson, by showing that the essence of the Declaration of Independence was contained in Samuel Adams's pamphlet of 1772 and the Declaration of Rights in 1774, must reflect upon whoever claims the authorship of the latter (since the sentiments are identical), unless it be conceded that Samuel Adams, as is more than probable, was largely engaged in composing the Declaration of Rights, and introduced into that paper the same principles he had advanced in 1772.

Here [in the paper of 1772] is embodied the whole philosophy of human rights, condensed from the doctrines of all time, and applied to the immediate circumstances of America. Upon this paper was based all that was written or spoken on human liberty in the Congress which declared independence; and the immortal instrument itself is, in many features, but a repetition of the principles here enunciated, and of Joseph Warren's list of grievances, which followed the Rights of the Colonists in the report.—*Wells, Life of Samuel Adams.*

The report was the boldest exposition of the American grievances which had hitherto been made public, and was drawn up with as much ability as freedom. Hutchinson says of this report of the committee, that, "although at its first appearance it was considered as their own work, yet they had little more to do than to make the necessary alterations in the arrangement of materials prepared for them by their great director in England, whose counsels they obeyed, and in whose wisdom and dexterity they had an implicit faith. Such principles in government were avowed as would be sufficient to justify the colonies in revolting, and forming an independent state; and such instances were given of the infringement of their rights by the exercise of Parliamentary authority as, upon like reasons, would justify an exception to the authority in all cases whatever; never-

theless, there was color for alleging that it was not 'expressly' denied in 'every' case. The whole frame of it, however, was calculated to strike the colonists with a sense of their just claim to independence, and to stimulate them to assert it."

The person alluded to by Governor Hutchinson, as "the great director in England," was Dr. Franklin, and it is insinuated that he was in effect the author of the report, but this is in no sense true; nor did he wholly approve the measures adopted at that meeting. He thought the affair was carried a little farther than the occasion required at the time, and was afraid that ill consequences would result. It was only the time and manner of bringing the subject forward, however, upon which he had any doubts. To the sentiments expressed in the report of the committee, and adopted by the inhabitants of the town, he fully assented. This is proved by his sending a copy of the proceedings to the press, as soon as he received it in London, with a prefatory notice written by himself. The pamphlet was entitled "The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in Town Meeting assembled, according to Law. Published by Order of the Town."—*Sparks*.

Frothingham in his "Rise of the Republic" gives perhaps the best general survey of the tendencies and movements toward independence and union in the colonies from the New England Confederation of 1643 onward. He recognizes as the earliest organized action against taxation of the colonies by the British government the instructions adopted by the town of Boston to its representatives, May 24, 1764. These instructions were written by Samuel Adams; and they are printed as the first paper in the first volume of the new edition of Samuel Adams's Writings, collected and edited by H. A. Cushing. Published in the Boston newspapers at the time, they were included the next year in James Otis's pamphlet on "The Rights of the British Colonists asserted and proved." The significance of Adams's paper in 1772 on "The Rights of the Colonists," reprinted in the present leaflet, is sufficiently set forth by Wells in the passage given above from his Life of Samuel Adams, where the paper is printed entire, as it also is in Cushing's edition, vol. ii. Compare this famous statement (1772) of the philosophy of government not only with the Declaration of Rights (1774) and the Declaration of Independence (1776), but with John Wise's statement of the Law of Nature in Government (Old South Leaflet No. 165), which, first published in 1717, was reprinted in Boston the same year, 1772, that Samuel Adams prepared his paper on "The Rights of the Colonists." See the Lives of Adams by Wells and Hosmer; also the chapter on "The Revolution Impending," by Mellen Chamberlain, in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America," vi., and especially the editorial notes appended containing a very full bibliography of the historical period. The republication of the report of Adams's committee, in London, by Franklin, whose preface to the London edition is included in the present leaflet, is doubly interesting in view of Franklin's long and conspicuous efforts in behalf of the union of the colonies. See Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754, in Old South Leaflet No. 9; and see his various papers in the interest of the American cause prepared in London at the time of the Stamp Act and in the years immediately following. Samuel Adams is properly called "the Father of the American Revolution." Hutchinson refers to Franklin with considerable justice, in connection with his co-operation with Adams and his associates in 1772, as "their great director in England." His watchfulness, faithfulness, and inspiration never failed.

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The Discovery of Pike's Peak.

1806.

FROM THE DIARY OF AN EXPEDITION MADE UNDER THE ORDERS
OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT, BY CAPTAIN Z. M. PIKE, IN THE
YEARS 1806 AND 1807, TO EXPLORE THE INTERNAL PARTS OF
LOUISIANA.

Saturday, 15th November [1806].—Marched early. Passed two deep creeks and many high points of rocks; also, large herds of buffaloes. At two o'clock in the afternoon, I thought I could distinguish a mountain to our right, which appeared like a small blue cloud; viewed it with the spy glass, and was still more confirmed in my conjecture, yet only communicated it to Dr. Robinson, who was in front with me, but in half an hour it appeared in full view before us.* When our small party arrived on the hill, they with one accord gave three cheers to the Mexican mountains. Their appearance can easily be imagined by those who have crossed the Alleghany, but their sides were white as if covered with snow or a white stone. These proved to be a spur of the grand western chain of mountains which divide the waters of the Pacific from those of the Atlantic Ocean, and divide the waters which empty into the bay of the Holy Spirit from those of the Mississippi, as the Alleghany do those that discharge themselves into the latter river and the Atlantic. They appeared to present a boundary between the province of Louisiana and North Mexico, and would be a defined and natural limit. Before evening we discovered a fork on the south side, bearing S. 25° W., and, as the Spanish troops appeared to have borne up it, we encamped on its banks, about one mile from its confluence, that we might make further discoveries on the morrow. Killed three buffaloes. Distance advanced twenty-four miles.

* The first view of Pike's Peak.—*Editor.*

Sunday, 16th November.—After ascertaining that the Spanish troops had ascended the right branch or main river, we marched at two o'clock P.M. The Arkansaw appeared at this place to be much more navigable than below where we had first struck it, and for any impediment I have yet discovered in the river I would not hesitate to embark in February at its mouth, and ascend to the Mexican mountains, with crafts properly constructed. Distance advanced eleven miles and a half.

Monday, 17th November.—Marched at our usual hour: pushed on with an idea of arriving at the mountains, but found at night no visible difference in their appearance from what we had observed yesterday. One of our horses gave out and was left in a ravine, not being able to ascend the hill; but I sent back for him, and had him brought to the camp. Distance advanced twenty-three miles and a half.

Tuesday, 18th November.—As we discovered fresh signs of the savages, we concluded it best to stop and kill some meat, for fear we should get into a country where we could not obtain game. Sent out the hunters. I walked myself to an eminence, from whence I took the courses to the different mountains and a small sketch of their appearance. In the evening found the hunters had killed without mercy, having slain seventeen buffaloes and wounded at least twenty more.

Wednesday, 19th November.—Having several carcasses brought in, I gave out sufficient meat to last this month. I found it expedient to remain and dry the meat, for our horses were getting very weak, and the one died which was brought in yesterday. Had a general feast of marrow bones; one hundred and thirty-six of them furnished the repast.

Thursday, 20th November.—Marched at our usual hour, but, as our horses' loads were considerably augmented by the death of one and the addition of nine hundred pounds of meat, we moved slowly, and made only eighteen miles. Killed two buffalo cows, and took some choice pieces.

Friday, 21st November.—Marched at our usual hour: passed two Spanish camps within three miles of each other. We again discovered the tracks of two men who had ascended the river yesterday. This caused us to move with caution, but at the same time increased our anxiety to discover them. The river was certainly as navigable here, and I think much more so, than some hundred miles below, which I suppose to arise from its flowing through a long course of sandy soil, which must absorb much of

the water, and render it shoaler below than above near the mountains. Distance advanced twenty-one miles.

Saturday, 22d November.—Marched early, and with rather more caution than usual. After having proceeded about five miles on the prairie, and as those in front were descending into the bottom, Baroney cried out, “Voila un sauvage,” when we observed a number of Indians running from the woods towards us. We advanced towards them, and, on turning my head to the left, I observed several running on the hill, as it were to surround us; one of them bearing a stand of colours. This caused a momentary halt, but perceiving those in front reaching out their hands, and without arms, we again advanced. They met us with open arms, crowding round to touch and embrace us. They appeared so anxious that I dismounted from my horse, and in a moment a fellow had mounted him and driven off. I then observed the Doctor and Baroney in the same predicament. The Indians were embracing the soldiers. After some time tranquillity was so far restored, they having returned our horses all safe, as to enable us to learn they were a war party from the Grand Pawnees, who had been in search of the Ietans, but, not finding them, were now on their return. An unsuccessful war party on their way home are always ready to embrace an opportunity of gratifying their disappointed vengeance on the first persons they meet.

We made for the woods and unloaded our horses, when the two leaders endeavoured to arrange the party; it was with great difficulty they got them tranquil, and not until there had been a bow or two bent on the occasion. When in some order, we found them to be sixty warriors, half with fire arms, and half with bows, arrows, and lances. Our party was in all sixteen. In a short time they were arranged in a ring, and I took my seat between the two leaders: our colours were placed opposite each other; the utensils for smoking, &c., being prepared on a small seat before us. Thus far all was well. I then ordered half a carrot of tobacco, one dozen knives, sixty fire steels, and sixty flints to be presented to them. They demanded corn, ammunition, blankets, kettles, &c., all of which they were refused, notwithstanding the pressing instances of my interpreter to accede to some points. The pipes yet lay unmoved, as if they were undetermined whether to treat us as friends or as enemies; but after some time we were presented with a kettle of water, drank, smoked, and ate together. During this time Dr. Robinson was standing up to observe their

actions, in order that, if necessary, we might be ready to commence hostilities as soon as they. The Indians now took their presents and commenced distributing them, but some malcontents threw them away, as if out of contempt. We began to load our horses, when they encircled us and commenced stealing everything they could. Finding it was difficult to preserve my pistols, I mounted my horse, when I found myself frequently surrounded, during which some were endeavouring to steal the pistols. The doctor was equally engaged in another quarter, and all the soldiers at their several posts, taking things from them. One having stolen my tomahawk, I informed the chief, but he paid no respect to my remonstrance, except to reply that "they were pitiful." Finding this, we determined to protect ourselves as far as was in our power, and the affair began to wear a serious aspect. I ordered my men to take their arms, and separate themselves from the savages, at the same time declaring to them I would kill the first man who touched our baggage, on which they commenced filing off immediately. We marched about the same time, and found after they had left us that they had contrived to steal one sword, a tomahawk, a broad axe, five canteens, and sundry other small articles. When I reflected on the subject, I felt sincerely mortified that the smallness of my number obliged me thus to submit to the insults of lawless banditti, it being the first time a savage had ever taken anything from me with the least appearance of force.

After encamping at night, the doctor and myself went about one mile back, and waylaid the road, determined, in case we discovered any of the rascals pursuing us to steal our horses, to kill two at least; but after waiting behind some logs until some time in the night, and discovering no person, we returned to camp. Distance advanced seventeen miles. Killed two buffaloes and one deer.

Sunday, 23d November.—Marched at ten o'clock. At one came up to the third fork on the south side, and encamped at night on the point of the Grand Forks. As the river appeared to be dividing itself into several small branches, and of course must be near its extreme source, I concluded to put my party in a defensible situation, and ascend the north fork to the high point of the Blue Mountain, which we conceived would be one day's march, in order to be enabled from its summit to lay down the various branches of the river and the positions of the country. Distance nineteen miles [to site of Pueblo]. Killed five buffaloes.

Monday, 24th November.—Early in the morning cut down fourteen logs, and put up a breast-work five feet high on three sides, and the other was thrown on the river. After giving the necessary orders for the government of my men, during my absence, in case of our not returning, we marched at one o'clock with an idea of arriving at the foot of the mountain, but found ourselves obliged to take up our lodging this night under a single cedar, which we found in the prairie, without water, and extremely cold. Our party, besides myself, consisted of Dr. Robinson and privates Miller and Brown. Distance advanced twelve miles.

Tuesday, 25th November.—Marched early, with the expectation of ascending the mountain, but was only able to encamp at its base, after passing over many small hills covered with cedars and pitch pines. Our encampment was on a creek; we found no water for several miles from the mountain, but near its base found springs sufficient. Took a meridional observation and the altitude of the mountain. Killed two buffaloes. Distance advanced twenty-two miles and a half. [Camp on Turkey Creek.]

Wednesday, 26th November.—Expecting to return to our camp that evening, we left all our blankets and provision at the foot of the mountain. Killed a deer of a new species, and hung his skin on a tree with some meat. We commenced ascending: found the way very difficult, being obliged to climb up rocks sometimes almost perpendicular; and after marching all day we encamped in a cave without blankets, victuals, or water. We had a fine clear sky, whilst it was snowing at the bottom. On the side of the mountain [Cheyenne mountain] we found only yellow and pitch pine; some distance up we saw buffalo; and, higher still, the new species of deer and pheasants.

Thursday, 27th November.—Arose hungry, thirsty, and extremely sore from the unevenness of the rocks on which we had lain all night, but were amply compensated for our toil by the sublimity of the prospects below. The unbounded prairie was overhung with clouds, which appeared like the ocean in a storm, wave piled on wave, and foaming, whilst the sky over our heads was perfectly clear. Commenced our march up the mountain, and in about one hour arrived at the summit of this chain; here we found the snow middle deep, and discovered no sign of beast or bird inhabiting this region. The thermometer, which stood at 9° above 0 at the foot of the mountain, here fell to 4° below. The summit of the Grand Peak, which was entirely bare of vege-

tation, and covered with snow, now appeared at the distance of fifteen or sixteen miles from us, and as high again as that we had ascended: it would have taken a whole day's march to have arrived at its base, when I believe no human being could have ascended to its summit. This, with the condition of my soldiers, who had only light overhauls on, and no stockings, and were every way ill provided to endure the inclemency of this region, the bad prospect of killing anything to subsist on, with the further detention of two or three days which it must occasion, determined us to return. The clouds from below had now ascended the mountain, and entirely enveloped the summit on which rest eternal snows. We descended by a long deep ravine with much less difficulty than we had contemplated. Found all our baggage safe, but the provision all destroyed. It began to snow, and we sought shelter under the side of a projecting rock, where we all four made a meal on one partridge and a pair of deer's ribs, which the ravens had left us, being the first food we had eaten for forty-eight hours.

Friday, 28th November.—Marched at nine o'clock. Kept straight down the creek to avoid the hills. At half past one o'clock shot two buffaloes, when we made the first full meal we had eaten for three days. Encamped in a valley under a shelving rock. The land here was very rich, and covered with old Ietan camps.

Saturday, 29th November.—Marched after a short repast, and arrived at our camp before night. Found all well.

From the entrance of the Arkansaw into the mountains to its source, it is alternately bounded by perpendicular precipices, or small narrow prairies, on which the buffalo and elk have found means to arrive, and are almost secure from danger, and from their destroyer, man. In many places the river precipitates itself over rocks, so as to be at one moment visible only in the foaming and boiling of its waters, at the next disappearing in the chasms of the overhanging precipices.

The Arkansaw river, taking its meanders, is one thousand nine hundred and eighty-one miles from its junction with the Mississippi to the mountains, and from thence to its source one hundred and ninety-two miles, making its total length two thousand one hundred and seventy-three miles, all of which may be navigated with proper boats, constructed for the purpose, except the one hundred and ninety-two miles in the mountains. It receives several small rivers, which are navigable for one hundred miles

and upwards. Boats bound up the whole length of the navigation should embark at its entrance on the first of February, when they would have the fresh quite to the mountains, and meet with no detentions; but, if later, they will find the river, one thousand five hundred miles up, nearly dry. It has one singularity which struck me very forcibly at first view, but on reflection I was induced to believe the case to be the same with all rivers whose courses lie through a low, dry, and sandy soil in warm climates. For the extent of four or five hundred miles before you arrive at the mountains, the bed of the river is extensive, and a perfect sand bar, which at certain seasons is dry, at least the water is standing in ponds, not affording sufficient to procure a running course from one to the other: when you come nearer the mountains, you find the river contracted, with a gravelly bottom and a deep navigable stream. From which circumstances it is evident that the sandy soil imbibes all the waters which the sources project from the hills, and renders the river, in dry seasons, less navigable at the distance of five hundred than at two hundred miles from its source.

The borders of the Arkansaw may be termed the paradise terrestrial of our territories for the wandering savages. Of all the countries ever visited by the footsteps of civilized man there never was one probably that produced game in greater abundance, and we know that the manners and morals of the erratic nations are such (the reasons I leave to be given by Ontologists) as never to give them a numerous population, and I believe that there are buffalo, elk, and deer sufficient on the borders of the Arkansaw alone, if used without waste, to feed all the savages of the United States territory for one century.

By the route of the Arkansaw and the Rio Colorado of California, I am confident in asserting (if my information be correct) there can be established the best communication on this side the Isthmus of Darien, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, as, admitting the utmost, the land carriage would not be more than two hundred miles, and the route may be made quite as eligible as our public highways over the Alleghany mountains. The Rio Colorado is to the great gulph of California what the Mississippi is to the Gulph of Mexico, and is navigable for ships of considerable burthen, opposite to the upper part of the province of Senora.

Sunday, 30th November.—We commenced our march at eleven o'clock, it snowing very fast, but my impatience to be moving

would not permit me to lie still at our present camp. The doctor, Baroney, and myself went to view an Ietan encampment, which appeared to be about two years old, and from the occupiers having cut down so large a quantity of trees to support their horses we concluded there must have been at least one thousand souls. Past several more in the course of the day, also one Spanish camp. Distance advanced fifteen miles. Killed two deer. This day came to the first cedar and pine, except the few we had seen in the mountains.

Monday, 1st December.—The storm still continuing with violence, we remained encamped; the snow by night was one foot deep, our horses being obliged to scrape it away to obtain their miserable pittance. To increase their misfortune, the poor animals were attacked by the magpies, which, attracted by the scent of their sore backs, alighted on them, and in defiance of their whinnying and kicking picked many places quite raw; the difficulty of procuring food rendered these birds so bold as to light on our men's arms, and eat meat out of their hands. One of our hunters was out, but killed nothing.

Tuesday, 2d December.—It cleared off in the night, and in the morning the thermometer stood at 17° below 0 (Reaumur), being three times as cold as any morning we had yet experienced. We killed an old buffalo on the opposite side of the river, which here was so deep as to swim horses. Marched, and found it necessary to cross to the north side, about two miles up, as the ridge joined the river. The ford was a good one, but the ice ran very bad, and two of the men had their feet frozen before we could get accommodated with fire, &c. Secured some of our old buffalo, and continued our march. The country being very rugged and hilly, one of our horses took a freak in his head and turned back, which occasioned three of our rear guard to lie out all night; I was very apprehensive they might perish in the open prairie. Distance advanced thirteen miles.

Wednesday, 3d December.—The weather moderating to 3° below 0, our absentees joined us, one with his feet frozen, but they were not able to bring up the horse; sent two men back on horseback. The hardships of my last voyage now began to be again experienced, and, had the climate been as severe as that to which I was then exposed, some of the men must have perished, for they had no winter clothing. I wore myself cotton overhauls, for I had not calculated on being out in this inclement season of the year. Dr. Robinson and myself, with assistants, went out

and took the altitude of the north mountain on the base of a mile,* after which, together with Sparks, we endeavoured to kill a cow, but without effect. Killed two bulls, that the men might take pieces of their hides for mockinsons. Left Sparks out. On our return to camp found the men had got back with the strayed horse, but too late to march.

Thursday, 4th December.—Marched about five o'clock. Took up Sparks, who had succeeded in killing a cow. Killed two buffaloes and six turkies. Distance advanced, twenty miles.

Friday, 5th December.—Marched at our usual hour. Passed one very bad place of falling rocks, where we had to carry our loads. Encamped on the main branch of the river, near the entrance of the South mountain. In the evening walked up to the mountain. Heard fourteen guns at camp during my absence, which alarmed me considerably; returned as quickly as possible, and found that the cause of my alarm arose from their shooting turkies. Killed two buffaloes and nine turkies. Distance advanced eighteen miles [to site of Cañon City].

Saturday, 6th December.—Sent out three different parties to hunt the Spanish trace, but without success. The doctor and myself followed the river into the mountain, which was bounded on each side by rocks two hundred feet high, leaving a small valley of fifty or sixty feet. Killed two buffaloes, two deer, and one turkey.

Sunday, 7th December.—We again despatched parties in search of the Spanish trace. One party discovered it on the other side of the river, and followed it into the valley of the stream at the entrance of the mountains, where they met two parties who were returning from exploring the two branches of the river, of which they reported that they had ascended until the river was merely a brook, bounded on both sides with perpendicular rocks, impracticable for horses ever to pass. They then recrossed the river to the north side and discovered, as they supposed, that the Spanish troops had ascended a dry valley to the right. On their return they found some rock salt, samples of which were brought me.

* The perpendicular height of the mountain from the level of the prairie we found to be ten thousand five hundred and eighty-one feet, and, admitting the prairie to be eight thousand feet above the level of the sea, it would make the elevation of this peak eighteen thousand five hundred and eighty-one feet, equal to that of some, and surpassing the calculated height of others for the peak of Teneriffe, and falling short of that of Chimborazo only one thousand seven hundred and one feet. Indeed, it was so remarkable as to be known to all the savage nations for hundreds of miles round, and to be spoken of with admiration by the Spaniards of New Mexico, and formed the bounds of their travels to the N.W. In our wandering in the mountains from the 14th November to the 27th January, it was never out of our sight except when we were in a valley. [Pike's Peak. Its height is 14,147 feet, the elevation of the prairie being only about 5,000 feet.]

We determined to march on the morrow to the entrance of the valley, there to examine the salt and the road. Killed one wild cat.

Monday, 8th December.—On examining the trace found yesterday, conceived it to have been only that of a reconnoitring party despatched from the main body, and, on analysing the rock salt, found it to be strongly impregnated with sulphur, and there were some very strong sulphurated springs at its base. Returned to camp, took with me Dr. Robinson and Miller, and descended the river, in order to discover certainly if the whole party had come by this route. Descended about seven miles on the south side. Saw great numbers of turkies and deer. Killed one of the latter.

Tuesday, 9th December.—Before we marched, killed a fine buck at our camp, as he was passing. I found the Spanish camp, about four miles below, and from every observation we could make conceived they had ascended the river. Returned to camp, where we arrived about two o'clock, and found all well; would have moved immediately, but four men were out reconnoitring. Killed three deer.

Wednesday, 10th December.—Marched, and found the road over the mountain to be excellent. Encamped on a dry ravine. Obligated to melt snow for ourselves and horses, and, as there was nothing else for the latter to eat, gave them one pint of corn each. Killed one buffalo.

Thursday, 11th December.—Marched at ten o'clock, and, after proceeding one mile, struck a branch of the Arkansaw, on which the supposed Spaniards had encamped, where there were both water and grass. Kept along this branch, but was frequently embarrassed as to the trace. At three o'clock P.M., having no sign of it, halted and encamped, and went out to search for it; found it about one mile to the right. Distance advanced fifteen miles.

Friday, 12th December.—Marched at nine o'clock; continued up the same branch as yesterday. The ridges on our right and left appeared to grow lower, but mountains appeared on our flanks through the intervals, covered with snow. Owing to the weakness of our horses, made only twelve miles.

Saturday, 13th December.—Marched at the usual hour, and passed large springs and the supposed Spanish camp; at twelve o'clock passed a dividing ridge, and immediately fell on a small branch running N. 20° W. There being no appearance of wood,

we left it, together with the Spanish trace, to our right, and made for the hills to encamp. After the halt I took my gun, and went out to see what discovery I could make. After marching about two miles north, fell on a river forty yards wide frozen over, which after some investigation I found ran north-east. This was the occasion of much surprise, as we were taught to expect to meet with the branches of the Red river, which should have run south-east. Query, must it not be the head water of the river Plate? If so, the Missouri must run much more to the west than is generally represented. For the Plate is a small river, by no means calculated to excite an expectation of so extensive a course. Distance advanced eighteen miles. One horse gave out and was left.

Sunday, 14th December.—Struck the river upon our march; ascended it four miles and encamped on the northern side. The prairie, being about two miles wide, was covered, for at least six miles along the banks of the river, with horse dung and the marks of Indian camps, which had been stationed here since the cold weather had set in, as was evident by the fires which were in the centre of the lodges. The signs made by their horses were astonishing, and must have taken one thousand cattle some months to have left them. As it was impossible to say which course the Spaniards had pursued amongst the multiplicity of signs which now appeared, we halted early, and discovered that they or the savages had ascended the river. We determined to pursue the route. As the geography of the country had turned out to be so different from our expectations, we were somewhat at a loss which course to pursue, unless we attempted to cross the snow-capt mountains to the south-east of us, which appeared almost impossible. On this day burst one of our rifles, which was a great loss, as it was the third gun that had burst and the fifth broken on the march. One of my men was now armed with my sword and pistols. Killed two buffaloes.

Monday, 15th December.—After repairing the guns, we marched, but were obliged to leave another horse. Ascended the river, both sides of which were covered with old Indian camps, at which we found corn cribs; we were induced to believe that these savages, although erratic, must remain long enough in one place to cultivate grain or must obtain it of the Spaniards. From their sign they must have been extremely numerous, and have possessed vast numbers of horses.

My poor fellows now suffered extremely from the cold, being almost naked. Distance advanced ten miles.

Tuesday, 16th December.—Marched up the river about two miles, and killed a buffalo, when, finding no road up the stream, we halted, and despatched parties in different directions, the Doctor and myself ascending high enough to enable me to lay down the course of the river into the mountains. From a high ridge we reconnoitred the adjacent country, and resolved to put the Spanish trace out of the question, and to shape our course south-west for the head of Red river. One of our party found a large camp which had been occupied by at least three thousand Indians, with a large cross in the middle. Are these people Catholics?

Wednesday, 17th December.—On striking a left hand fork of the river we had left, found it to be the main branch, and ascended it some distance; but, finding it to bear too much to the north, we encamped about two miles from its banks for the purpose of benefiting by its water. Distance advanced fifteen miles.

Thursday, 18th December.—Crossed the mountain which lay south-west of us. In a distance of seven miles arrived at a small spring. Some of our men observed they supposed it to be the Red River, to which I then gave very little credit. On entering a gap in the next mountain, came to an excellent spring which formed a fine creek: this we followed through narrows in the mountain for about six miles. Found many evacuated camps of Indians, the latest yet seen. After pointing out the ground for the encampment, the doctor and myself went on to make discoveries, as was our usual custom, and in about four miles' march struck what we supposed to be Red river, which here was about twenty-five yards wide, ran with great rapidity, and was full of rocks. We returned to the party with the news, which gave general pleasure. Determined to remain a day or two, in order to examine the source. Distance advanced eighteen miles. Snowy weather.

Friday, 19th December.—Marched down the creek, near the opening of the prairie, and encamped. Sent out parties hunting, but had no success. Still snowing and stormy. Making preparations to take an observation.

Saturday, 20th December.—Having found a fine place for pasture on the river, sent our horses down to it with a guard. Also, three parties out a-hunting, all of whom returned without success. Took an observation. As there was no prospect of killing any game, it was necessary that the party should leave this place. I therefore determined that the doctor and Baroney should descend

the river in the morning, that myself and two men would ascend, and the rest of the party descend after the doctor until they obtained provision, and could wait for me.

Sunday, 21st December.—The doctor and Baroney marched; the party remained for me to take a meridional observation, after which we separated. Myself and the two men who accompanied me (Mountjoy and Miller) ascended for twelve miles, and encamped on the north side of the river, continuing close to the north mountain, and running through a narrow rocky channel, in some places not more than twenty feet wide and at least ten feet deep, its banks bordered with yellow pine, cedar, &c.

Monday, 22d December.—Marched up thirteen miles farther, to a large point of the mountain, whence we had a view of at least thirty-five miles, to where the river entered the mountain, it being at that place not more than ten or fifteen feet wide, and, properly speaking, only a *brook*. From this place, after taking the course and estimating the distance, we returned to our camp of last evening. Killed a turkey and a hare.

Tuesday, 23d December.—Marched early, and at two o'clock P.M. discovered the trail of the party on the opposite side of the river; forded it, although extremely cold, and marched until some time in the night, when we arrived at the second night's encampment of the party. Our clothing was frozen stiff, and we ourselves were considerably benumbed.

Wednesday, 24th December.—The parties' provision extending only to the 23d, and their orders being not to halt until they killed some game, and then wait for us, they might have been considerably advanced. About eleven o'clock met Dr. Robinson on a prairie, who informed me that he and Baroney had been absent from the party two days, without killing anything, also without eating, but that over night they had killed four buffaloes, and that he was in search of the men. I suffered the two men who were with me to go to the camp where the meat was, as we had also been nearly two days without eating. The doctor and myself pursued the trail, and found them encamped on the river's bottom. Sent out horses for the meat; shortly after, Sparks arrived, and informed us he had killed four cows. Thus, from being in a starving condition, we had at once eight beeves in our camp. We now again found ourselves all assembled together on Christmas eve, and appeared generally to be content, although all the refreshment we had to celebrate the day with was buffalo flesh, without salt or any other thing whatever.

My little excursion up the river had been undertaken with the view of establishing the geography of the sources of the (supposed) Red river, as I well knew the indefatigable researches of Dr. Hunter, Dunbar, and Freeman, had left nothing unnoticed in the extent of their voyage up that stream. I determined that its upper branches should be equally well explored, as in this voyage I had already ascertained the sources of the Osage and White rivers, been round the head of the Kanzas river, and on the head waters of the Plate.

Thursday, 25th December.—The weather being stormy, and having some meat to dry, I concluded to lie by this day. Here I must take the liberty of observing that in this situation the hardships and privations we underwent were on this day brought more fully to our minds than at any time previously. We had before been occasionally accustomed to some degree of relaxation and extra enjoyments; but the case was now far different: eight hundred miles from the frontiers of our country, in the most inclement season of the year; not one person properly clothed for the winter, many without blankets, having been obliged to cut them up for socks and other articles; lying down too at night on the snow or wet ground, one side burning whilst the other was pierced with the cold wind; this was briefly the situation of the party: whilst some were endeavouring to make a miserable substitute of raw buffalo hide for shoes and other covering. I will not speak of diet, as I conceive that to be beneath the serious consideration of a man on a journey of such a nature. We spent this day as agreeably as could be expected from men in our circumstances. Caught a bird of a new species, by a trap made for him.

Friday, 26th December.—Marched at two o'clock and made seven miles and a half to the entrance of the mountains. On this piece of prairie the river spread considerably, and formed several small islands. A large stream enters from the south. As my boy and some others were unwell, I omitted pitching our tent, in order that they might have it; in consequence of which we were completely covered with snow, as well as having it for our bed.

Saturday, 27th December.—Marched over an extremely rough road, our horses frequently fell and cut themselves considerably on the rocks. From there being no roads of buffaloes, or sign of horses, I am convinced that neither these animals, nor the Aborigines of the country ever take this route to go from the source of the river out of the mountains, but that they must cross

one of the chains to the right or left, and find a smoother tract to the lower country. We were obliged to unload our horses and carry the baggage at several places. Distance advanced twelve miles and a half.

Sunday, 28th December.—Marched over an open space and from the appearance before us concluded we were going out of the mountains, but at night encamped at the entrance of most perpendicular precipices on both sides, through which the river ran and our course lay. Distance advanced sixteen miles.

Monday, 29th December.—Owing to the extreme ruggedness of the road, we made but five miles' march. Saw an animal of a new species on the mountain, ascended to kill him, but did not succeed. Finding the impossibility of getting along with the horses, made one sledge, which, with the men attached to three horses, carried their load.

Tuesday, 30th December.—At half past one o'clock were obliged to halt on our march and send back for the sledge loads, as they had broken it, and could not proceed, owing to the waters running over the ice. Distance advanced eight miles. Crossed our horses twice on the ice.

Wednesday, 31st December.—Marched. Had frequently to cross the river on the ice during our march; the horses falling down, we were obliged to pull them over on the ice. The river turned so much to the north as almost to induce us to believe it was the Arkansaw. Distance advanced ten miles and three-quarters.

Thursday, 1st January, 1807.—The doctor and one man marched early, in order to precede the party until they should kill a supply of provision. We had great difficulty in getting our horses along, some of the poor animals having nearly killed themselves by falling on the ice. Found on the way one of the mountain rams which the doctor and Brown had killed and left on the road. Skinned it with horns, &c. At night ascended a mountain, and discovered a prairie ahead about eight miles, the news of which gave great joy to the party.

Friday, 2d January.—Laboured all day, but advanced only one mile, many of our horses being much wounded in falling on the rocks. Provisions growing short, left Stout and Miller with two loads to come on with a sledge on the ice, which covered the water in some of the coves. Finding it almost impossible to proceed any further with the horses by the lead of the river, ascended the mountain, and immediately after were again obliged to descend

an almost perpendicular side, in effecting which one horse fell down the precipice, and bruised himself so miserably that I conceived it mercy to cause the poor animal to be shot. Many others were nearly killed by falls. Left two men with loads and tools to make sledges. The two men we had left in the morning had passed us.

Saturday, 3d January.—Left two more men to make sledges, and to follow us. We pursued the river, and with great difficulty made six miles, by frequently cutting roads on the ice, and covering it with earth, in order to go round precipices that projected into the course.

The men left in the morning encamped with us at night, but we saw nothing of those of the day before. This day two of the horses became senseless, from the bruises received on the rocks, and we were obliged to leave them.

Sunday, 4th January.—We made the prairie about three o'clock, when I detached Baroney and two soldiers with the horses, in order to find some practicable way for them to get out of the mountains without their loads. I then divided the others into two parties of two men each, to make sledges, and bring on the baggage. I determined to continue down the river alone until I could kill some provision, and find the two men who had left us on the second, or the doctor and his companion, for we had now no food left, and every one had to depend on his own exertions for safety and subsistence. Thus we were divided into eight different parties, viz., first, the doctor and his companion; second, the two men with the first sledge; third, the interpreter and the two men with the horses; fourth, myself; fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, two men each, with sledges, at different distances; all of whom, except the last, had orders, if they killed any game, to secure some part in a conspicuous place for their companions in the rear. I marched on about five miles on the river, which was one continued fall through a narrow channel, and immense cliffs on both sides. Near night I came to a place where the rocks were perpendicular on both sides, and no ice, except a narrow border on the water. I began to look about, in order to discover which way the doctor and his companion had managed, and to find what had become of the two men with the first sledge, when I discovered one of the latter climbing up the side of the rocks. I called to him, and he and his companion immediately joined me. They said they had not known whether we were before or in the rear; that they had eaten nothing for the last two days;

and that this night they intended to have boiled a deer's skin to subsist on. We at length discovered a narrow ravine, where we observed the trace of the doctor and his companion; as the water had run over it and frozen hard, it was one continued sheet of ice; we ascended with the utmost difficulty and danger, loaded with the baggage. On the summit of the first ridge we found an encampment of the doctor's, where they had killed a deer, but they had now no meat. He afterwards informed me that they had left the greatest part of it hanging on a tree, but supposed the birds had destroyed it. I left the men to bring up the remainder of the baggage and went out in order to kill something for subsistence: wounded a deer, but, the darkness of the night approaching, could not find him, when I returned hungry, weary, and thirsty, and had only snow to supply the calls of nature. Distance advanced eight miles.

Monday, 5th January.—I went out in the morning to hunt, whilst the two men were bringing up some of their loads still left at the foot of the mountain. Wounded several deer, but was surprised to find I killed none, and on examining my gun found it bent, owing, as I suppose, to some fall on the ice or rocks. I shortly after received a fall on the side of a hill which broke it off by the breech. This put me into despair, as I calculated on it as my grandest resource for a great portion of my party. Returned to my companions sorely fatigued and hungry. I then took a double barrelled gun, and left them, with assurances that the first animal I killed I would return with part of for their relief. About ten o'clock rose the highest summit of the mountain, when the unbounded extent of the prairies again presented itself to my view, and from some distant peaks, I immediately recognized our situation to be one outlet of the Arkansaw, which we had left nearly one month since. This was a great mortification, but at the same time I consoled myself with the knowledge I had acquired of the source of the Plate and Arkansaw rivers, with the river to the north-west, supposed to be the Pierre Jaun, which scarcely any person but a madman would ever purposely attempt to trace any further than the entrance of these mountains, which had hitherto secured their sources from the scrutinizing eye of civilized man.

I arrived at the foot of the mountain and the bank of the river in the afternoon, and at the same time discovered on the other shore Baroney with the horses. They had found quite an eligible pass; they had killed one buffalo and some deer. We proceeded to our old camp, which we had left the tenth of December, and

reoccupied it. Saw the traces of the doctor and his companion, but could not discover the place of their retreat.

This was my birthday, and most fervently did I hope never to pass another so miserably. Distance advanced seven miles. Fired a gun as a signal for the doctor.

Tuesday, 6th January.—Despatched the two soldiers back with some provision to meet the first men and assist them on; and sent the interpreter to hunt. About eight o'clock the doctor arrived, having seen some of the men. He had been confined to the camp for one or two days by a vertigo, which proceeded from some berries he had eaten on the mountains. His companion brought down six deer which they had at their camp. Thus we again began to be out of danger of starving. In the afternoon some of the men arrived, and part were immediately sent back with provisions, &c. Killed three deer.

Wednesday, 7th January.—Sent more men back to assist in the rear, and to carry the poor fellows provision: at the same time kept Baroney and one man hunting. Killed three deer.

Thursday, 8th January.—Some of the different parties arrived. Put one man to stocking my rifle. Others sent back to assist up the rear. Killed two deer.

Friday, 9th January.—The whole party was once more joined together, when we felt comparatively happy, notwithstanding the great mortifications I had experienced at being so egregiously deceived as to the Red River. I now felt at considerable loss how to proceed, as any idea of service at that time from my horses was entirely preposterous. Thus, after various plans formed and rejected and the most mature deliberation, I determined to build a small place for defence and deposit, and leave part of the baggage, horses, my interpreter, and one man; and with the remainder, with our packs of Indian presents, ammunition, tools, &c., on our backs, to cross the mountains on foot, find the Red river, and then send back a detachment to conduct the horses and baggage after us, by the most eligible route we could discover, by which time we calculated our horses would be so far recovered as to be able to endure the fatigue of the march. In consequence of this determination some were put to constructing block houses, some to hunting, some to take care of horses, &c., &c., [within present limits of Cañon City]. I myself made preparations to pursue a course of observations that would enable me to ascertain the latitude and longitude of the situation, which I conceived to be an important one. Killed three deer.

Saturday, 10th January.—Killed five deer. Took equal altitudes, angular distances of two stars, &c., but now do not recollect which. Killed three more deer.

Sunday, 11th January.—Ascertained the latitude, and took the angular distances of some stars. Killed four deer.

Monday, 12th January.—Preparing the baggage for a march, by separating it, &c. Observations continued.

Tuesday, 13th January.—Weighed out each man's pack. This day I obtained the angle between the sun and moon, which I conceived the most correct way I possessed of ascertaining the longitude, as an immersion or emersion of Jupiter's satellites could not now be obtained. Killed four deer.

Wednesday, 14th January.—We marched our party, consisting of eleven soldiers, the doctor, and myself, each of us carrying forty-five pounds, and as much provision as he thought proper, which, with arms, &c., made on an average seventy pounds, leaving Baroney and one man, Patrick Smith, behind. We crossed the first ridge, leaving the main branch of the river to the north of us, and struck on the south fork, on which we encamped, intending to pursue it through the mountains, as its course was more southerly. The doctor killed one deer. Distance advanced thirteen miles.

Thursday, 15th January.—Followed up this branch and passed the main ridge of what I term the Blue mountains. Halted early; the doctor, myself, and one hunter went out with our guns, each killed a deer and brought them into camp. Distance advanced nineteen miles.

Friday, 16th January.—Marched up the Creek all day. Encamped early, as it was snowing. I went out to hunt, but killed nothing. Deer on the hills and mountains lessening. Distance advanced eighteen miles.

Saturday, 17th January.—Marched about four miles, when the great White mountain presented itself before us, in sight of which we had been for more than a month, and through which we supposed lay the long sought Red river. We now left the Creek on the north of us, and bore away more east to a low place in the mountains. About sunset we came to the edge of a prairie, which bounded the foot of the mountain, and as there was no wood or water where we were, and the wood from the skirts of the mountain appeared to be at no great distance, I thought proper to march for it. In the middle of the prairie crossed the Creek, which now bore almost east. Here we all got our feet wet. The

night commenced extremely cold. When we halted at the woods at eight o'clock for encampment, after getting fires made, we discovered that the feet of nine of our men were frozen, and, to add to the misfortune, of both of those whom we called hunters among the number. This night we had no provision. Distance advanced twenty-eight miles. Reaumur's thermometer stood at $18\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ below o.

Sunday, 18th January.—We started out two of the men least injured. The doctor and myself (who, fortunately, were untouched by the frost) also went out to hunt for something to preserve existence. Near evening we wounded a buffalo with three balls, but had the mortification to see him run off notwithstanding. We concluded it was useless to go home to add to the general gloom, and went amongst some rocks where we encamped, and sat up all night, as from the intense cold it was impossible to sleep, also hungry and without cover.

Monday, 19th January.—We again took the field, and after crawling about one mile in the snow got to shoot eight times among a gang of buffaloes, and could plainly perceive two or three to be badly wounded, but by accident they took the wind of us, and to our great mortification were all able to run off. By this time I was become extremely weak and faint, being the fourth day since we had received sustenance, the whole of which time we were marching hard, and the last night had scarcely closed our eyes to sleep. We were then inclining our course to a point of wood, determined to remain absent and die by ourselves rather than return to our camp and behold the misery of our poor companions, when we discovered a gang of buffaloes coming along at some distance. With great exertion I made out to run and place myself behind some cedars, and by the greatest good luck the first shot stopped one, which we killed in three more shots, and by the dusk had cut each of us a heavy load, with which we determined immediately to proceed to the camp in order to relieve the anxiety of our men, and carry them some relief. We arrived there about twelve o'clock, and when I threw my load down it was with difficulty I prevented myself from falling. I was attacked with a giddiness which lasted for some minutes. On the countenances of the men was not a frown, nor was there a desponding eye. All seemed happy to hail their officer and companions, yet not a mouthful had they eaten for four days. On demanding what were their thoughts, the sergeant replied the most robust had determined to set out on the morrow in search of

us, and not return unless they found us or killed something to preserve the lives of their starving companions.

Tuesday, 20th January.—The doctor and all the men able to march returned to the buffalo to bring in the remainder of the meat.

On examining the feet of those who were frozen, we found it impossible for two of them to proceed. And two others only without loads by the help of a stick. One of the former was my waiter, a promising young lad of twenty, whose feet were so badly frozen as to present every probability of his losing them.

The doctor and party returned towards evening, loaded with the buffalo meat.

Wednesday, 21st January.—This day separated the four loads we intended to leave, and took them at some distance from the camp, where we secured them. I went up to the foot of the mountain, to see what prospect there was of being able to cross it, but had not more than fairly arrived at its base when I found the snow four or five feet deep; this obliged me to determine to proceed and cotoyer the mountains to the south, where it appeared lower, and until we found a place where we could cross.

Thursday, 22d January.—I furnished the two poor fellows who were to remain with ammunition, and made use of every argument in my power to encourage them to have fortitude to resist their fate, and gave them assurances of my sending relief as soon as possible.

We parted, but not without tears. We pursued our march, taking merely sufficient provision for one meal, in order to leave as much as possible for the two poor fellows who remained (who were Thomas Dougherty and John Sparks). We went on eight miles and encamped on a little creek, which came down from the mountains. At three o'clock went out to hunt, but found nothing. Little snow.

Friday, 23d January.—After shewing the sergeant a point to steer for, the doctor and myself proceeded on ahead, in hopes of killing something, as we were again without victuals. About one o'clock it commenced snowing very hard. We retreated to a small copse of pine, where we constructed a camp to shelter us, and, as it was time the party should arrive, we sallied forth to search for them.

We separated, and had not marched more than one or two miles, when I found it impossible to keep any course without the compass continually in my hand, and then not being able to see

more than ten yards. I began to perceive the difficulty even of finding the way back to our camp; and I can scarcely conceive a more dreadful idea than that of remaining on the wild, where inevitable death must have ensued. It was with great pleasure I again reached the camp, where I found the doctor had arrived before me. We lay down and strove to dissipate the ideas of hunger and our misery, by the thoughts of our far distant homes and relatives. Distance advanced eight miles.

Saturday, 24th January.—We sallied out in the morning, and shortly after perceived our little band marching through the snow, then about two feet and a half deep, silent and with downcast countenances. We joined them, and learnt that, finding the snow to fall so thickly that it was impossible to proceed, they had encamped about one o'clock the preceding day. As I found all the buffaloes had left the plains, I determined to attempt the traverse of the mountains, in which we persevered, until the snow became so deep as to render it impossible to proceed, when I again turned my face to the plain, and for the first time in the journey found myself discouraged; and it was the first time I heard a man express himself in a seditious manner. One had exclaimed, "That it was more than human nature could bear to march three days without sustenance, through snows three feet deep, and carry burdens only fit for horses."

As I knew very well the fidelity and attachment of the majority of the men, and even of this poor fellow, only he could not endure fasting, and that it was in my power to chastise him when I thought proper, I passed it over for the moment, determined to notice it at a more auspicious time.

We dragged our weary and emaciated limbs along until about ten o'clock. The doctor and myself, who were in advance, discovered some buffaloes on the plain, when we left our loads and orders on the snow to proceed to the nearest woods to encamp. We went in pursuit of the buffaloes which were on the move.

The doctor, who was then less reduced than myself, ran and got behind a hill and shot one down, which stopped the remainder. We crawled up to the dead one, and shot from him as many as twelve or fourteen times among the herd, when they removed out of sight. We then proceeded to butcher the one we had shot, and, after procuring each of us a load of the meat, marched for the camp, the smoke of which was in view. We arrived there to the great joy of our brave lads, who immediately feasted sumptuously. After our repast I sent for the man who had presumed to

speak discontentedly in the course of the day, and addressed him to the following effect:—

“Brown, you this day presumed to make use of language which was seditious and mutinous. I then passed it over, pitying your situation and attributing your conduct to your distress rather than your inclination to sow discontent amongst the party. Had I reserved provisions for ourselves, whilst you were starving; had we been marching along light and at our ease, whilst you were weighed down with your burden, then you would have had some pretext for your observations; but when we were equally hungry, weary, emaciated, and charged with burdens which I believe my natural strength is less able to bear than any man’s in the party; when we are always foremost in breaking the road, reconnoitring and enduring the fatigues of the chase, it was the height of ingratitude in you to let an expression escape which was indicative of discontent. Your ready compliance and firm perseverance I had reason to expect, as the leader of men who are my companions in misery and danger. But your duty as a soldier called on your obedience to your officer, and a prohibition of such language, which for this time I will pardon, but assure you, should it ever be repeated, by instant *death* I will revenge your ingratitude and punish your disobedience. I take this opportunity likewise to express to you, soldiers, generally, my thanks for your obedience, perseverance, and ready contempt of every danger which you have in common evinced, and assure you nothing shall be wanting on my part to procure you the rewards of our government and the gratitude of your countrymen.”

Zebulon Montgomery Pike was born in Lamberton (now the south part of Trenton), N.J., in 1779, his father being a captain in the Revolution and afterwards an officer in the regular army. While he was yet a child, the family removed to Bucks County, Penn. He was educated chiefly at Easton, Penn., a later home of the family, and in 1799 was appointed an ensign in his father’s regiment, advancing rapidly to higher positions. After the purchase of the Louisiana territory from France, he was appointed by General James Wilkinson, then commander of the army on the Mississippi, to conduct an expedition to trace the Mississippi to its source; and leaving St. Louis Aug. 9, 1805, with about twenty men, he successfully performed this service, returning after nearly nine months’ difficult exploration. In 1806-07 he was engaged in his famous explorations in the Louisiana territory, leaving St. Louis July 15, 1806, accompanied now also by about twenty men, discovering “Pike’s Peak,” and reaching the Rio Grande River and Santa Fé. He arrived at Santa Fé March 3, 1807, and was escorted thence by the Spanish authorities to Chihuahua, thence to San Antonio, and on through Texas, to the bounds of our present State of Louisiana, where he arrived July 1, 1807, almost exactly a year from the time he had set out from St. Louis. “Language cannot express the gayety of my heart when I once more beheld the standard of my country waved aloft. ‘All hail,’ cried I, ‘the ever sacred name of country in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie which is dear to the soul of man!’” A lieutenant at the time of these expeditions, Pike was rapidly promoted, and during the war with England was a brigadier-general. He was killed by the explosion of a magazine during an attack on York (now Toronto), Canada, in 1813.

Pike published the account of his two expeditions in 1810. The volume was published in

Philadelphia. It was full of typographical and other mistakes, and poorly arranged; and the edition published in London the next year, from another manuscript copy, under the careful editorship of Dr. Thomas Rees, is the standard English edition, the basis of the French, German, and Dutch versions, and that which was textually reprinted in the fine Denver edition of 1889, with introduction by William M. Maguire, and which is used for the present leaflet. Biographies of Pike by Whiting (Sparks, vol. 15, the best general biography), Wilson, Jenkins, and Greely; but these all need supplementing by the memoir prefixed by Elliott Coues to his fine new edition (3 vols.) of Pike's account of his expeditions, published in 1895, which contains much that is new, and embodies especially valuable bibliographical matter. Mr. Coues's work is a mine of information concerning Pike's expeditions. He accompanies Pike step by step, showing his whereabouts each day by the geography of to-day. Pike, when, Nov. 27, 1806, he looked on the great peak which was to bear his name, from the summit of the neighboring mountain, had three companions, Robinson, Brown, and Miller. Pike's Peak was first ascended by Dr. Edwin James, Mr. Wilson, and two others, July 13 and 14, 1820, during Major S. H. Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains, when it was named James's Peak. When and by whom the mountain was first called Pike's Peak is unknown, but this was the common term before 1840. Gregg's map of 1844 has "Pike's Peak (or James's)." Fremont in his report of explorations in 1843-44 calls it Pike's Peak, doubtless finding that the popular usage at the time. Governor Alva Adams says, "The name of Pike's Peak begins to appear in the literature of the prairies and mountains about the middle of the century, but it was not irrevocably christened until the Pike's Peak gold excitement, when the name was fixed to remain as long as men love to listen to stories of valor." The mountain had, of course, been long known to the Spaniards. As Coues says, "it was the Ultima Thule of their possessions;" and at the very time that Pike was in the neighborhood, he was in pursuit of Spanish troops which had gone along just before him.

In view of the present and prospective conditions of "the vast tract of untimbered country" west of the Missouri and the Mississippi, it is interesting to read the following in Pike's general chapter on the "Internal Parts of Louisiana," after his "examination of those internal deserts": "These vast plains of the western hemisphere may become in time as celebrated as the sandy deserts of Africa. . . . But from these immense prairies may arise one great advantage to the United States, viz., the restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuation of the Union. Our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontiers will, through necessity, be constrained to limit their extent on the west to the borders of the Missouri and the Mississippi, while they leave the prairies incapable of cultivation to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country."

The passage from Pike's account, given in the present leaflet, covers the time from Nov. 15, 1806, when Pike, from a point a little east of the junction of the Purgatory River and the Arkansas in south-eastern Colorado, discovered the main chain of the Rocky Mountains, with Pike's Peak towering to the right, to Jan. 24, 1807, just before he crossed the Sangre de Cristo range to the basin of the Rio Grande,—almost the whole period, therefore, of his explorations within the limits of the present State of Colorado. It was not until February 16 that he met the Spanish horsemen from Santa Fé.

Pike's expeditions were partly simultaneous with the explorations of Lewis and Clark. "While their faces were still fixed on the setting sun, which for them still dipped behind the shining snow-caps, Pike set forth on his first journey northward. While they were homeward bound from the South Sea by way of the mighty Missouri and the rugged Roche Jaune, he was pressing on his second way toward the Mexican mountains." These explorations were alike parts of the effort to secure better knowledge of the great Louisiana territory just acquired by Jefferson. See the chapter on "Territorial Acquisitions" in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. vii. See Old South Leaflet No. 44, Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis; 45, Fremont's Account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak; 105, An Account of Louisiana, 1803; 127, The Ordinance of 1784; 128, The Cession of Louisiana; 131, The Discovery of the Columbia River.

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Longfellow Memorial.

FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, APRIL 13, 1882.

The Vice-President, Dr. George E. Ellis, announced the death of Mr. Longfellow, as follows:—

Much to our regret we miss our honored President from his chair to-day, on this the ninety-first annual meeting of the Society. It is gratifying to be assured that he has safely reached the other side of the ocean, and may be looked for with us again early in the autumn. It will be remembered that in opening the last meeting he expressed for us all the relief which he found in not being called upon, as in such rapid and melancholy succession he had been at so many previous meetings, to announce a loss from our limited roll of associates. But again must there be stricken from it the name of one who leaves upon the list no other so enshrined in the affection, the grateful homage, we may even say the venerating regard, of the world-wide fellowship of civilized humanity.

On the announcement to our deeply moved community of the death of Mr. Longfellow, though I had taken leave of Mr. Winthrop near the eve of his departure, I wrote to him asking that he would commit to me, to be read here and now, what he would himself have said if he were to be with us to-day. In his brief note of reply he writes: "How gladly would I comply with your suggestion, and send you, for the next meeting of our Society, some little tribute to our lamented Longfellow! But, at this last hurried moment before leaving home, I could do justice neither to him nor to myself. I was just going out to

bid him good-by, when his serious illness was announced, and in a day or two more all was over. The last time he was in Europe I was there with him, and I was a witness to not a few of the honors which he received from high and low. I remember particularly that when we were coming away from the House of Lords together, where we had been hearing a fine speech from his friend the Duke of Argyll, a group of the common people gathered around our carriage, calling him by name, begging to touch his hand, and at least one of them reciting aloud one of his most familiar poems. No poet of our day has touched the common heart like Longfellow. The simplicity and purity of his style were a part of his own character. He had nothing of that irritability which is one of the proverbial elements of the poetic temperament, but was always genial, generous, lovely." I will not attempt to add anything, as tribute, to that heart utterance from our President. Indeed, it would be difficult to find variations in the terms of language even, much more in the sentiments to be expressed by them, in tributes of tender and appreciative regard and affection for Mr. Longfellow. Full and profound in depth and earnestness have been the honors to him in speech and print; richer still, because unutterable, and only for the privacy of those who cherish them, are the responsive silences of the heart.

It is fitting, however, that we put on record our recognition of Mr. Longfellow in his relations to this Society. He accepted the membership to which he had been elected in December, 1857. Those who were associates in it twenty-five years ago will recall two signal occasions delightfully associated with his presence and speech. The one was a special meeting, to which he invited the Society at his own residence, as Washington's headquarters, in Cambridge, on June 17, 1858. There was much of charming and instructive interest in the scenes and associations of the occasion, added to the communications made by several members full of historic information freshly related from original sources. The host himself was silent, save as by his genial greeting and warm hospitality he welcomed his grateful guests. The other marked occasion was also at a special meeting of the Society, held in December, 1859, at the house of our associate, Mr. Sears. The meeting was devoted to tributes of respect and affection for Washington Irving, from many who had shared his most intimate friendship. Mr. Longfellow gave hearty

and delicate expression to his regard for Irving, while Everett, Felton, Colonel Aspinwall, G. Sumner, and Dr. Holmes contributed their offerings to the memory of that admired author. But few of our associates, in its nearly a century of years, can have studied our local and even national history more sedulously than did Mr. Longfellow. And but fewer still among us can have found in its stern and rugged and homely actors and annals so much that could be graced and softened by rich and delicate fancies, by refining sentiments, and the hues and fragrance of simple poetry. He took the saddest of our New England tragedies and the sweetest of its rural home scenes, the wayside inn, the alarum of war, the Indian legend, and the hanging of the crane in the modest household, and his genius has invested them with enduring charms and morals. Wise and gentle was the heart which could thus find melodies for the harp, the lyre, and the plectrum in our fields and wildernesses, wreathing them as nature does the thickets and stumps of the forest with flowers and mosses. While all his utterances came from a pure, a tender, and a devout heart, addressing themselves to what is of like in other hearts, there is not in them a line of morbidness, of depression, or melancholy, but only that which quickens and cheers with robust resolve and courage, with peace and aspiring trust. He has, indeed, used freely the poet's license in playful freedom with dates and facts. But the scenes and incidents and personages which most need a softening and refining touch receive it from him without prejudice to the service of sober history.

Dr. Ellis closed his remarks by offering the following Resolution:—

Resolved, That, in yielding from our roll the name of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, we would put on our records the expression of our profoundest regard, esteem, and admiring appreciation of his character and genius, and our grateful sense of the honor and satisfaction we have shared in his companionship.

The Resolution was seconded by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, who addressed the Society with much feeling, as follows:—

It is with no vain lamentations, but rather with profound gratitude that we follow the soul of our much-loved and long-loved poet beyond the confines of the world he helped so largely

to make beautiful. We could have wished to keep him longer, but at least we were spared witnessing the inevitable shadows of an old age protracted too far beyond its natural limits. From the first notes of his fluent and harmonious song to the last, which comes to us as the "voice fell like a falling star," there has never been a discord. The music of the mountain stream, in the poem which reaches us from the other shore of being, is as clear and sweet as the melodies of the youthful and middle periods of his minstrelsy. It has been a fully rounded life, beginning early with large promise, equalling every anticipation in its maturity, fertile and beautiful to its close in the ripeness of its well-filled years.

Until the silence fell upon us we did not entirely appreciate how largely his voice was repeated in the echoes of our own hearts. The affluence of his production so accustomed us to look for a poem from him at short intervals that we could hardly feel how precious that was which was so abundant. Not, of course, that every single poem reached the standard of the highest among them all. That could not be in Homer's time, and mortals must occasionally nod now as then. But the hand of the artist shows itself unmistakably in everything which left his desk. The O of Giotto could not help being a perfect round, and the verse of Longfellow is always perfect in construction.

He worked in that simple and natural way which characterizes the master. But it is one thing to be simple through poverty of intellect, and another thing to be simple by repression of all redundancy and overstatement; one thing to be natural through ignorance of all rules, and another to have made a second nature out of the sovereign rules of art. In respect of this simplicity and naturalness, his style is in strong contrast to that of many writers of our time. There is no straining for effect, there is no torturing of rhythm for novel patterns, no wearisome iteration of petted words, no inelegant clipping of syllables to meet the exigencies of a verse; no affected archaism, rarely any liberty taken with language, unless it may be in the form of a few words in the translation of Dante. I will not except from these remarks the singular and original form which he gave to his poem of "Hiawatha,"—a poem with a curious history in many respects. Suddenly and immensely popular in this country, greatly admired by many foreign critics, imitated with perfect ease by any clever school-boy, serving as a model for metrical advertisements, made fun of, sneered at, abused, admired, but, at any rate, a

picture full of pleasing fancies and melodious cadences. The very names are jewels which the most fastidious muse might be proud to wear. Coming from the realm of the Androscoggin and of Moosetukmaguntuk, how could he have found two such delicious names as Hiawatha and Minnehaha? The eight-syllable trochaic verse of "Hiawatha," like the eight-syllable iambic verse of "The Lady of the Lake," and others of Scott's poems, has a fatal facility, which I have elsewhere endeavored to explain on physiological principles. The recital of each line uses up the air of one natural expiration, so that we read, as we naturally do, eighteen or twenty lines in a minute, without disturbing the normal rhythm of breathing, which is also eighteen or twenty breaths to the minute. The standing objection to this is that it makes the octo-syllabic verse too easy writing and too slipshod reading. Yet in this most frequently criticised composition the poet has shown a subtle sense of the requirements of his simple story of a primitive race, in choosing the most fluid of measures, that lets the thought run through it in easy sing-song, such as oral tradition would be sure to find on the lips of the story-tellers of the wigwam. Although Longfellow was not fond of metrical contortions and acrobatic achievements, he well knew the effects of skilful variation in the forms of verse and well-managed refrains or repetitions. In one of his very earliest poems,—*"Pleasant it was when Woods were Green,"*—the dropping a syllable from the last line is an agreeable surprise to the ear, expecting only the common monotony of scrupulously balanced lines. In *"Excelsior"* the repetition of the aspiring exclamation which gives its name to the poem lifts every stanza a step higher than the one which preceded it. In the *"Old Clock on the Stair,"* the solemn words, *"Forever, never, never, forever,"* give wonderful effectiveness to that most impressive poem.

All his art, all his learning, all his melody, cannot account for his extraordinary popularity, not only among his own countrymen and those who in other lands speak the language in which he wrote, but in foreign realms, where he could only be read through the ground glass of a translation. It was in his choice of subjects that one source of the public favor with which his writings, more especially his poems, were received, obviously lay. A poem, to be widely popular, must deal with thoughts and emotions that belong to common, not exceptional character, conditions, interests. The most popular of all books are those which meet

the spiritual needs of mankind most powerfully, such works as "The Imitation of Christ" and "Pilgrim's Progress." I suppose if the great multitude of readers were to render a decision as to which of Longfellow's poems they most valued, the "Psalm of Life" would command the largest number. This is a brief homily enforcing the great truths of duty, and of our relation to the unseen world. Next in order would very probably come "Excelsior," a poem that springs upward like a flame and carries the soul up with it in its aspiration for the unattainable ideal. If this sounds like a trumpet-call to the fiery energies of youth, not less does the still small voice of that most sweet and tender poem, "Resignation," appeal to the sensibilities of those who have lived long enough to have known the bitterness of such a bereavement as that out of which grew the poem. Or take a poem before referred to, "The Old Clock on the Stair," and in it we find the history of innumerable households told in relating the history of one, and the solemn burden of the song repeats itself to thousands of listening readers, as if the beat of the pendulum were throbbing at the head of every staircase. Such poems as these—and there are many more of not unlike character—are the foundation of that universal acceptance his writings obtain among all classes. But for these appeals to universal sentiment, his readers would have been confined to a comparatively small circle of educated and refined readers. There are thousands and tens of thousands who are familiar with what we might call his household poems who have never read "The Spanish Student," "The Golden Legend," "Hiawatha," or even "Evangeline." Again, ask the first school-boy you meet which of Longfellow's poems he likes best, and he will be very likely to answer, "Paul Revere's Ride." When he is a few years older, he might perhaps say, "The Building of the Ship," that admirably constructed poem, beginning with the literal description, passing into the higher region of sentiment by the most natural of transitions, and ending with the noble climax,—

"Thou, too, sail on, O ship of state,"

which has become the classical expression of patriotic emotion.

Nothing lasts like a coin and a lyric. Long after the dwellings of men have disappeared, when their temples are in ruins and all their works of art are shattered, the ploughman strikes an earthen vessel holding the golden and silver disks, on which the features of a dead monarch, with emblems, it may be, be-

traying the beliefs or the manners, the rudeness or the finish of art and all which this implies, survive an extinct civilization. Pope has expressed this with his usual Horatian felicity, in the letter to Addison, on the publication of his little "Treatise on Coins,"—

"A small Euphrates through the piece is rolled,
And little eagles wave their wings in gold."

Conquerors and conquered sink in common oblivion; triumphal arches, pageants the world wonders at, all that trumpeted itself as destined to an earthly immortality, pass away; the victor of a hundred battles is dust; the parchments or papyrus on which his deeds were written are shrivelled and decayed and gone,—

"And all his triumphs shrink into a coin."

So it is with a lyric poem. One happy utterance of some emotion or expression, which comes home to all, may keep a name remembered when the race to which the singer belonged is lost sight of. The cradle-song of Danaë to her infant as they tossed on the waves in the imprisoning chest has made the name of Simonides immortal. Our own English literature abounds with instances which illustrate the same fact so far as the experience of a few generations extends. And I think we may venture to say that some of the shorter poems of Longfellow must surely reach a remote posterity, and be considered then, as now, ornaments to English literature. We may compare them with the best short poems of the language without fearing that they will suffer. Scott, cheerful, wholesome, unreflective, should be read in the open air; Byron, the poet of malcontents and cynics, in a prison cell; Burns, generous, impassioned, manly, social, in the tavern hall; Moore, elegant, fastidious, full of melody, scented with the volatile perfume of the Eastern gardens, in which his fancy revelled, is pre-eminently the poet of the drawing-room and the piano; Longfellow, thoughtful, musical, home-loving, busy with the lessons of life, which he was ever studying, and loved to teach others, finds his charmed circle of listeners by the fireside. His songs, which we might almost call sacred ones, rarely if ever get into the hymn-books. They are too broadly human to suit the specialized tastes of the sects, which often think more of their differences from each other than of the common ground on which they can agree. Shall we think less of our poet because he so frequently aimed in his verse not

simply to please, but also to impress some elevating thought on the minds of his readers? The Psalms of King David are burning with religious devotion and full of weighty counsel, but they are not less valued, certainly, than the poems of Omar Khayam, which cannot be accused of too great a tendency to find a useful lesson in their subject. Dennis, the famous critic, found fault with "The Rape of the Lock," because it had no moral. It is not necessary that a poem should carry a moral, any more than that a picture of a Madonna should always be an altar-piece. The poet himself is the best judge of that in each particular case. In that charming little poem of Wordsworth's, ending,

"And then my heart with rapture thrills
And dances with the daffodils,"

we do not ask for anything more than the record of the impression which is told so simply, and which justifies itself by the way in which it is told. But who does not feel with the poet that the touching story, "Hartleap Well," must have its lesson brought out distinctly, to give a fitting close to the narrative? Who would omit those two lines?—

"Never to blend our pleasure or our pride
With sorrow of the meanest thing that lives."

No poet knew better than Longfellow how to impress a moral without seeming to preach. Didactic verse, as such, is, no doubt, a formidable visitation, but a cathedral has its lesson to teach as well as a school-house. These beautiful medallions of verse which Longfellow has left us might possibly be found fault with as conveying too much useful and elevating truth in their legends; having the unartistic aim of being serviceable as well as delighting by their beauty. Let us leave such comment to the critics who cannot handle a golden coin, fresh from the royal mint, without clipping its edges and stamping their own initials on its face.

Of the longer poems of our chief singer, I should not hesitate to select "Evangeline" as the masterpiece, and I think the general verdict of opinion would confirm my choice. The German model which it follows in its measure and the character of its story was itself suggested by an earlier idyl. If Dorothea was the mother of Evangeline, Luise was the mother of Dorothea. And what a beautiful creation is the Acadian maiden! From the first line of the poem, from its first words, we read as we would

float down a broad and placid river, murmuring softly against its banks, heaven over it, and the glory of the unspoiled wilderness all around,—

“This is the forest primeval.”

The words are already as familiar as

“*Mḗνιν ἄειδε, θεά,*

or

“*Arma virumque cano.*”

The hexameter has been often criticised, but I do not believe any other measure could have told that lovely story with such effect, as we feel when carried along the tranquil current of these brimming, slow-moving, soul-satisfying lines. Imagine for one moment a story like this minced into octo-syllabics. The poet knows better than his critics the length of step which best befits his muse.

I will not take up your time with any further remarks upon writings so well known to all. By the poem I have last mentioned, and by his lyrics, or shorter poems, I think the name of Longfellow will be longest remembered. Whatever he wrote, whether in prose or poetry, bore always the marks of the finest scholarship, the purest taste, fertile imagination, a sense of the music of words, and a skill in bringing it out of our English tongue, which hardly more than one of his contemporaries who write in that language can be said to equal.

The saying of Buffon, that the style is the man himself, or of the man himself, as some versions have it, was never truer than in the case of our beloved poet. Let us understand by style all that gives individuality to the expression of a writer; and in the subjects, the handling, the spirit and aim of his poems, we see the reflex of a personal character which made him worthy of that almost unparalleled homage which crowned his noble life. Such a funeral procession as attended him in thought to his resting-place has never joined the train of mourners that followed the hearse of a poet,— could we not say of any private citizen? And we all feel that no tribute could be too generous, too universal, to the union of a divine gift with one of the loveliest of human characters.

Dr. Holmes was followed by Professor Charles E. Norton, who said:—

I could wish that this were a silent meeting. There is no need of formal commemorative speech to-day, for all the people of the land, the whole English-speaking race,—and not they alone,—mourn our friend and poet. Never was poet so mourned, for never was poet so beloved.

There is nothing of lamentation in our mourning. He has not been untimely taken. His life was “prolonged with many years, happy and famous.” Death came to him in good season, or ever the golden bowl was broken, or the pitcher broken at the cistern. Desire had but lately failed. Life was fair to him almost to its end. On his seventy-fourth birthday, a little more than a year ago, with his family and a few friends round his dinner table, he said, “There seems to me a mistake in the order of the years: I can hardly believe that the four should not precede the seven.” But in the year that followed he experienced the pains and languor and weariness of age. There was no complaint—the sweetness of his nature was invincible.

On one of the last times that I saw him, as I entered his familiar study on a beautiful afternoon of this past winter, I said to him, “I hope this is a good day for you?” He replied, with a pleasant smile, “Ah! there are no good days now.” Happily the evil days were not to be many.

The accord between the character and life of Mr. Longfellow and his poems was complete. His poetry touched the hearts of his readers because it was the sincere expression of his own. The sweetness, the gentleness, the grace, the purity of his verse were the image of his own soul. But, beautiful and ample as this expression of himself was, it fell short of the truth. The man was more and better than the poet.

Intimate, however, as was the concord between the poet and his poetry, there was much in him to which he never gave utterance in words. He was a man of deep reserves. He kept the holy of holies within himself inviolable and secluded. Seldom does he admit his readers even to its outward precincts. The deepest experiences of life are not to be shared with any one whatsoever. “There are things of which I may not speak,” he says in one of the most personal of his poems.

“Whose hand shall dare to open and explore
Those volumes closed and clasped forevermore?
Not mine. With reverential feet I pass.”

It was the felicity of Mr. Longfellow to share the sentiment and emotion of his coevals, and to succeed in giving to them their apt poetic expression. It was not by depth of thought or by original views of nature that he won his place in the world's regard; but it was by sympathy with the feelings common to good men and women everywhere, and by the simple, direct, sincere, and delicate expression of them, that he gained the affection of mankind.

He was fortunate in the time of his birth. He grew up in the morning of our republic. He shared in the cheerfulness of the early hour, in its hopefulness, its confidence. The years of his youth and early manhood coincided with an exceptional moment of national life, in which a prosperous and unembarrassed democracy was learning its own capacities, and was beginning to realize its large and novel resources; in which the order of society was still simple and humane. He became, more than any one else, the voice of this epoch of national progress, an epoch of unexampled prosperity for the masses of mankind in our new world, prosperity from which sprang a sense, more general and deeper than had ever before been felt, of human kindness and brotherhood. But, even to the prosperous, life brings its inevitable burden. Trial, sorrow, misfortune, are not to be escaped by the happiest of men. The deepest experiences of each individual are the experiences common to the whole race. And it is this double aspect of American life—its novel and happy conditions, with the genial spirit resulting from them, and, at the same time, its subjection to the old, absolute, universal laws of existence—that finds its mirror and manifestation in Longfellow's poetry.

No one can read his poetry without a conviction of the simplicity, tenderness, and humanity of the poet. And we who were his friends know how these qualities shone in his daily conversation. Praise, applause, flattery,—and no man ever was exposed to more of them,—never touched him to harm him. He walked through their flames unscathed, as Dante through the fires of purgatory. His modesty was perfect. He accepted the praise as he would have accepted any other pleasant gift,—glad of it as an expression of good will, but without personal elation. Indeed, he had too much of it, and often in an absurd form, not to become at times weary of what his own fame and virtues brought upon him. But his kindness did not permit him to show his weariness to those who did but burden him

with their admiration. It was the penalty of his genius, and he accepted it with the pleasantest temper and a humorous resignation. Bores of all nations, especially of our own, persecuted him. His long-suffering patience was a wonder to his friends. It was, in truth, the sweetest charity. No man was ever before so kind to those moral mendicants. One day I ventured to remonstrate with him on his endurance of the persecutions of one of the worst of the class, who to lack of modesty added lack of honesty,—a wretched creature,—and, when I had done, he looked at me with an amused expression, and half deprecatingly replied, “But, Charles, who would be kind to him if I were not?” It was enough. He was helped by a gift of humor, which, though seldom displayed in his poems, lighted up his talk and added a charm to his intercourse. He was the most gracious of men in his own home; he was fond of the society of his friends, and the company that gathered in his study or round his table took its tone from his own genial, liberal, cultivated, and refined nature.

“With loving breath of all the winds his name
Is blown about the world; but to his friends
A sweeter secret hides behind his fame,
And love steals shyly through the loud acclaim
To murmur a *God bless you!* and there ends.”

His verse, his fame, are henceforth the precious possessions of the people whom he loved so well. They will be among the effective instruments in shaping the future character of the nation. His spirit will continue to soften, to refine, to elevate the hearts of men. He will be the beloved friend of future generations as he has been of his own. His desire will be gratified:—

“And in your life let my remembrance linger,
As something not to trouble and disturb it,
But to complete it, adding life to life.
And if at times beside the evening fire
You see my face among the other faces,
Let it not be regarded as a ghost
That haunts your house, but as a guest that loves you,
Nay, even as one of your own family,
Without whose presence there were something wanting.
I have no more to say.”

Mr. William Everett spoke with much force of the pre-eminent gifts of Mr. Longfellow, and, although not given to comparisons, he could not help putting his “Ship of State”

alongside of Horace's passionate burst of song beginning "O navis!" After reciting the two, Mr. Everett declared that our singer had encountered the greatest lyric poet of Rome on his own ground, and, grappling with him, had fairly thrown him.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted by a standing vote.

FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, FEB. 14, 1907.

This meeting of the Historical Society, coming in the month of the centenary of the birth of Longfellow, was also made in a measure a memorial meeting, with appropriate remarks by the President, Charles Francis Adams, by T. W. Higginson, Charles Eliot Norton, William R. Thayer, Bliss Perry, William W. Goodwin, Samuel A. Green, and Franklin B. Sanborn. Mr. Thayer spoke as follows upon Longfellow as our national poet:—

Every year that passes makes it more evident that Longfellow has come to be the American national poet in much the same sense that Burns is the Scotch national poet. We have drawn far enough away from him and his contemporaries to be able to see clearly that he possesses the national quality to a degree to which none of the others attained. Bryant, Whittier, Emerson, and Lowell had patriotism and the moral outlook in common with him; Bryant and Lowell, like Longfellow, dipped occasionally into European sources; Whittier, like Longfellow, immortalized some of our local or national events; all loved Nature, all observed her accurately and described her sympathetically,—Nature as she reveals herself to a New Englander. But, if you compare their work with his, you will perceive that Longfellow has a representative character which they lack, and a certain something which recommends him to a larger variety of tastes than they can satisfy.

Numbers predicate nothing, of course, as to merit. So the charge used to be made, and one hears it still, that Longfellow owed his immense popularity to his commonplaceness. But the true deduction to be made from his popularity leads in the other direction. Longfellow is popular, not because of his commonplaceness, but because of his art, which has raised millions of his readers above the commonplace. The same domestic sentiment, the same moral precept, the same patriotic desire, had been expressed, it may be, many times: he expressed it in the way peculiar to him—the way which added beauty or charm—and it became idealized to them, and his poetic description of it passed current as a household word. That is what I mean in calling him so much more widely representative than, let us say, Lowell or Whittier. Sixty thousand copies of "Evangeline" are reported to have been sold within

two months of its publication. Shall we argue from that a triumph of the commonplace, a riot of Philistinism? Far from it: those figures prove the genius of the poet who by his art—delicate and sincere art, sweet art, if ever there were such—could commend a poem of that excellence to so large a multitude of strangers. In other words, a potential appreciation of poetry is latent in a much wider circle than we commonly suppose. Longfellow struck a responsive chord in myriads who were dumb to other singers: that was because of his magic gift, not of his commonplaceness.

Numbers, let us repeat, give no hint as to excellence; and yet, when multitudes love a certain poet and keep on loving him after the bloom of novelty has worn off, the fact of numbers may mean a great deal. It may mean, for instance, that he has universality; that is, that he can describe some of the primal human concerns in such fashion that every one recognizes him as a true spokesman. Now this is exactly what Longfellow did: he uttered our American ideals in poetry which had a national flavor. Nothing could be more genuinely Yankee than Lowell's "Biglow Papers," nothing more unalloyedly Puritan than many of Whittier's poems, and yet the poetry of Lowell and Whittier is too strongly individualized, too obviously limited by the personal idiosyncrasy of each, ever to be national as Longfellow's poetry is national.

Longfellow sang not only the ideals of the Settlers and the Founders—Liberty, Independence, Union, and Democracy were still the national watchwords when he began to write, although Union was soon to be tested in the fiery furnace—but to them were being added others, not so much civic and political as social and individual. Our long isolation, which had permitted us to become Yankees instead of Englishmen and to be free instead of subjects of the British Crown, was being broken up. Immigration on a large scale had begun, and it was slowly to change the nature of our racial stock. The American, ceasing to be nine-tenths Anglo-Saxon, was becoming truly cosmopolitan. Henceforth Latin and Teuton, Scandinavian and Slav, must contribute their ingredients to the composite American character. Now Longfellow, beyond all other Americans, knew the spirit of those peoples through their literatures, and by translating many of their poems and by retelling many of their favorite stories he prepared the way for some sort of sympathetic meeting when the strangers began to pour into the United States. The service which he rendered to our culture by infusing into it strains from the Continental reservoirs has been freely acknowledged, but his even greater service as spokesman of the New American has been almost overlooked. That New American is by inheritance a cosmopolite; it required a poet of cosmopolitan culture and sympathy to be his spokesman. Here, again, Longfellow displays the trait of universality which makes him of all our poets the most accessible to our oldest and youngest citizens alike. We may well be grateful that our new populations can through him come to know our ideals of duty, service, dignity, courage, self-sacrifice, kindliness, friendship, affection,

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and patriotism; for it is, after all, on these primary virtues and affections that the character of man and nation must be built. This also stamps him as our national poet. . . .

Who shall compute the great gifts he brought us? He put into the finest ballads produced in America some typical episodes. He wrote not only the best sonnets ever written in America, but sonnets which are among the best in English. He made the best metrical translation of "The Divine Comedy." He wrote the epic of the Indian, which, though it may too much idealize its subject, will remain unapproached, for the time is past when that theme is likely to commend itself to a great poet. He embalmed in verse the life of the first settlers, the fortunes of the men of Plymouth, the tranquil joys and tragic end of the French at Acadie. He immortalized many a spot by pouring upon it the elixir of poetry. He commemorated friends whose lives have become a part of our history. He embodied the national ideals of the Settlers and of the Founders—those ideals which made us Yankees; he embodied also the ideals which are making the new generations cosmopolites—Americans in whom blend the traits of many races. Happy are we in such a national poet!

Mr. Adams, after paying high tribute to Longfellow as a poet,—“to my mind,” he said, “it is doubtful whether any other American writer has contributed to the innocent intellectual enjoyment of so many people in a degree at all comparable,”—proceeded to point out certain inaccuracies as to historic fact in “The Courtship of Miles Standish,” “The Rhyme of Sir Christopher,” and “Paul Revere’s Ride.” Touching the first, he repeated the following passage from an address which he gave before the Weymouth Historical Society a few years before, in which he had first quoted from the poem Longfellow’s account of Miles Standish’s march and conflict with the Indians at Wessagusset:—

We all recognize in these cases what is known as “poetic license.” It is the unquestioned privilege of the poet to so mould hard facts and actual conditions as to make realities conform to his idea of the everlasting fitness of things. On the other hand, it is but fair that, in so doing, the artist should improve on the facts. In other words, he should at least not make them more prosaic, and distinctly less dramatic, than they were. In the present case, I submit, Longfellow, instead of rendering things more poetic and dramatic, made them distinctly less so. This I shall now proceed to show.

And here let me premise that it was the habit of Longfellow, as I think the unfortunate habit, to improvise—so to speak, to evolve from his inner consciousness—the local atmosphere and conditions of those poems of his in which he dealt with history and historical happenings. It was so with “Paul Revere’s Ride”; it was so with

the episodes made use of in the "Tales of a Wayside Inn"; it is notorious it was so in the case of "Evangeline" and Acadia; it was strikingly, and far more inexcusably, so in the case of "Miles Standish" and Plymouth. While preparing a poem which has deservedly become an American classic, as such throwing a glamour of romance over that entire region to which it has given the name of the "Evangeline Country," Longfellow never sought to draw inspiration from actual contact with that "forest primeval" of which he sang; nor again, when dealing with the events of our own early history, did he once visit, much less study, the scene of that which he pictured. He imagined everything. I gravely question whether he even knew that the conflict he describes in the lines I have just quoted took place on the shores of Boston bay and at a point not twenty miles from the historic mansion in which he lived and the library where he imagined. He certainly, and more's the pity, never stood on King-oak Hill or sailed up the Fore River.

What actually occurred here in April, 1623, I have endeavored elsewhere to describe in detail, just as it appears in our early records. Those curious on the subject will find my narrative in a chapter (vi.) entitled "The Smoking Flax Blood-Quenched," in a work of mine, the matured outcome of my address here in 1874, called "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History." To that I refer them. Meanwhile, suffice it for me now to say, the actual occurrences of those early April days were stronger, more virile, and infinitely more dramatic and better adapted to poetic treatment,—in one word, more Homeric,—than the wholly apocryphal and somewhat mawkish cast given them in the lines I have quoted. Indeed, so far as the incidents drawn from the history of Weymouth are concerned, the whole is; in the original records, replete with vigorous life. It smacks of the savage; it is racy of the soil; it smells of the sea. It begins with the flight of Phineas Pratt from Wessagusset to Plymouth, his loss of the way, his fear lest his footprints in the late-lingering snow-banks should betray him, his nights in the woods, his pursuit by the Indians, his guidance by the stars and sky, his fording the icy river, and his arrival in Plymouth just as Miles Standish was embarking for Wessagusset. Nothing, then, can be more picturesque, more epic in outline, than Standish's voyage, with his little company of grim, silent men in that open boat. Sternly bent on action, they skirted, under a gloomy eastern sky, along the surf-beaten shore, the mist driving in their faces as the swelling seas broke roughly in white surge over the rocks and ledges which still obstruct the course they took. From the distance came the dull, monotonous roar of the breakers, indicating the line of the coast. At last they cast anchor before the desolate and apparently deserted block-house here in your Fore-river, and presently some woe-begone stragglers answered their call. Next came the meeting with the savages, the fencing talk, and the episode of what Holmes, in still another poem, refers to as

"Wituwamet's pictured knife
And Pecksuot's whooping shout";

all closing with the fierce hand-to-hand death grapple on the blood-soaked, slippery floor of the rude stockade. Last of all the return to Plymouth, with the gory head of Wattawamat, "that bloody and bold villain," a ghastly freight, stowed in the rummage of their boat.

The whole story is, in the originals, full of life, simplicity and vigor, needing only to be turned into verse. But, in place of the voyage, we have in Longfellow's poem a march through the woods, which, having never taken place, has in it nothing characteristic; an interview before an Indian encampment "pitched on the edge of a meadow, between the sea and the forest," at which the knife scene is enacted, instead of in the rude block-house; and, finally, the killing takes place amid a discharge of firearms, and "there on the flowers of the meadow the warriors" are made to lie; whereas in fact they died far more vigorously, as well as poetically, on the bloody floor of the log house in which they were surprised, "not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last." And as for "flowers," it was early in April, and, in spots, the snow still lingered! That Longfellow wrote very sweet verse, none will deny; but, assuredly, he was not Homeric. At his hands your Weymouth history failed to have justice done it.

The subject chosen for the Old South lectures for young people for 1907, the centennial of the births of Longfellow and Whittier, was "Boston History in the Boston Poets." Earlier in the year the service of Longfellow and Whittier for American history and life was made the theme of the annual course of Old South lectures for the Boston teachers. The use by all of our greater poets of subjects relating to our national history was very large. When we think, in Longfellow's case, of "The Song of Hiawatha," "The Courtship of Miles Standish," the "New England Tragedies," "Evangeline," so much in the "Wayside Inn," and the score of shorter works on similar themes, we see that nearly half of the total body of his poetry is of this character. Similarly we might refer to the poetry in the field of American history by Whittier, Lowell, Holmes, and Emerson, as well as to the important historical contributions in the prose works of all of these. The tributes paid to Longfellow by his fellow-members of the Massachusetts Historical Society at the meeting following his death, reprinted in the present leaflet, were a conspicuous recognition of the historical services of the poet; and these tributes were impressively supplemented by those at the meeting of the society in February, 1907, the centennial year, also noticed above. The student is referred to the similar tributes by the Historical Society to Emerson, Lowell, and Holmes, at the meetings following their deaths, accounts of which will be found in the society's Proceedings. The tributes to Longfellow by his fellow poets are well known, as are the various biographies, chief of which is that by his brother, Samuel Longfellow. The following passage from Edwin D. Mead's address on "Boston in the Boston Poets," at the celebration in December, 1906, of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Bostonian Society,—printed in the Proceedings of the Society,—while relating primarily to the services of the poets in the local field, touches also wider aspects of their historical work—

"Emerson was born in Boston, most famous of all Boston boys save only Franklin. Holmes and Lowell were born in Cambridge. The fathers of all three were Puritan ministers, pastors of historic churches: William Emerson, of the First Church of Boston; Abiel Holmes, of the First Parish of Cambridge; Charles Lowell, of the West Church of Boston, over which he was settled just a hundred years ago this year, remaining nominally its pastor until his death in 1861, when his brilliant son and his fellow-singers were already at the zenith of their high poetic fame.

"The three fathers were all eminent scholars and eminent citizens. William Emerson was the Fourth of July orator at Faneuil Hall the year before his great son's birth. He wrote a History of the First Church; and his *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* was the precursor of the *North American Review*.

"Charles Lowell was a man of rare culture, who to his Harvard training had added, a very exceptional thing in those days, a course at the University of Edinburgh. He was three years in Europe; and Wilberforce and Dugald Stewart were among his friends. He belonged to various learned societies in Europe as well as in America; and his devotion to historical studies was signal. Like William Emerson and Abiel Holmes, he was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and for thirty years he served the society either as its recording or corresponding secretary—which latter office Abiel Holmes also filled for the twenty years immediately preceding Dr. Lowell's occupancy. The present spacious West Church edifice was built to accommodate the 'flood-tide of would-be parishioners' which set toward Lynde Street immediately after Lowell's ordination, and he had 'probably the largest congregation in Boston.' Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, who knew him well, paid this high tribute to him: 'Dr. Lowell was, even as compared with Buckminster, Everett, and Channing, by far the greatest pulpit orator in Boston, and for prompt, continuous, uniform, and intense impression, in behalf of fundamental Christian truth and duty, on persons of all varieties of age, culture, condition, and character, I have never seen or heard his equal, nor can I imagine his superior.'

"Abiel Holmes's contributions to history were more important than either Charles Lowell's or William Emerson's. These were both Harvard men; Holmes was a graduate of Yale, married the daughter of President Stiles, and wrote Stiles's biography. In 1817 he delivered a course of lectures on ecclesiastical history, with special reference to New England; but by far the most important of his works—the titles of his various publications, chiefly sermons, fill two pages in the Historical Society's Collections—was his learned 'Annals of America,' so rich in matter interesting to us here.

"If, with such fathers and bred in such environment, Emerson, Holmes, and Lowell were not from youth to age devoted to Boston and its history, then there is no virtue in heredity and nurture. Emerson was a pupil of the Boston Latin School. Emerson, Holmes, and Lowell were all graduates of Harvard. Longfellow, Holmes, and Lowell were Harvard professors. Lowell lived and died in the Cambridge home where he was born, the house which had been first the home of Thomas Oliver, the obnoxious royalist lieutenant governor, and afterwards of Elbridge Gerry. Craigie House, Longfellow's home from 1836, when he entered upon his Harvard professorship, until his death, was on the same Tory Row, the house which had been built by Col. John Vassall, whose daughter Thomas Oliver married, and which became during the siege of Boston the headquarters of Washington.

"Holmes, born in the 'old gambrel-roofed house' in Cambridge, had three

Boston homes,—in Montgomery Place, now Bosworth Street, where he lived for eighteen years, then on the river side of Charles Street, and from 1870 on the river side of Beacon Street.

"Emerson, born on Summer Street, where is now the corner of Chauncy Street, lived afterwards on Beacon Street near the present site of the Boston Athenæum, then within the limits of the present Franklin Park, and, during his ministry at the Second Church, in Chardon Place.

"Whittier's Boston lodgings, during his eight months here in 1829 as editor of the *Manufacturer*, were with Rev. William Collier, his publisher, at No. 30 Federal Street, where at one time Garrison was his fellow-lodger. While he represented Haverhill in the legislature, Robert Rantoul and he had rooms together for a time at a boarding-place in Franklin Street, by the Bulfinch urn.

"A signal attestation of their deep interest in our local history is afforded by the fact that four of our five poets—and there was equal warrant for the fifth—were members of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and the tributes paid them by their associates in the meetings following their deaths are illuminating and memorable as concerns this side of their activities. It chanced that at all these meetings the venerable George E. Ellis presided, at the first two in Mr. Winthrop's absence, at the last two as president of the society; and his own remarks on all of these occasions were noteworthy. He recalled the special meeting to which Longfellow invited the society at his own home, as Washington's headquarters, on June 17, 1858. 'Few of our associates,' he said, 'can have studied our local and even national history more sedulously than did Mr. Longfellow. He took the saddest of our New England tragedies and the sweetest of its rural home scenes, the wayside inn, the alarum of war, the Indian legend, and the hanging of the crane in the modest household, and his genius has invested them with enduring charms and morals. He has, indeed, used freely the poet's license in playful freedom with dates and facts. But the scenes and incidents and personages which most need a softening and refining touch receive it from him without prejudice to the service to sober history.' He recalled at the Emerson memorial meeting the impressive scene when, fifteen months before, Emerson, appearing there for the last time, had read his tribute to Carlyle. Of Holmes he remembered that his last presence with the society was when he read his noble tribute to Francis Parkman. Holmes himself was one of the speakers at both the Longfellow and Emerson meetings, and his words on both occasions were the most important which were uttered. Lowell was appointed by the society to prepare the memoir of Longfellow, and accepted the task, but was compelled by pressing new duties to surrender it to other hands. Of Lowell himself Charles Francis Adams said at the meeting following his death, 'No one among us all had such a nice and subtle appreciation as he of the lights and shadows of New England life, or the varied phases of New England character.'

"Our five Boston poets have not only painted each other's portraits for us, but there are few Boston men who have achieved things worth achieving in the last two generations whose spiritual lineaments are not perpetuated in their pages. Channing, Webster, Everett, Sumner, Hawthorne, Motley, Agassiz, Garrison, Phillips, Andrew,—these are but the most illustrious of the illustrious company commemorated in verses dear not alone to the Bostonian, but to every American.

"To the student of the history of art there are few rooms in the Uffizi Gallery more impressive than those whose walls are hung with the rich collection of portraits of the world's great painters, painted by themselves. To the student of English history there are few places in London more illuminating than the National Portrait Gallery. We are debtors to our Boston poets for creating for us a Boston Portrait Gallery, in which their own characters and purposes and those of their renowned contemporaries in the Boston of the nineteenth century are depicted in the sharpest, truest, and most imperishable lines. Through our poets the actors in our history are given an immortal vitality, and every pregnant epoch and incident in our history from the beginning is glorified.

"Our poets not only chronicled and transfigured our history: they all in their time helped greatly to make our history, and that precisely in those lines of it which are, in Emerson's words, 'inextricably national, part of the history of liberty.' They wove themselves into our history in the momentous period in which their lives were cast, and their burning verses are a cardinal part of the authentic record. I like to say that, if we could rear in Boston two monuments upon which, about the central figures of Samuel Adams and William Lloyd Garrison, should be grouped the Boston leaders in the struggles which gave America her independence and freed her from slavery, we should have there commemorated an imposing portion of what was most dynamic in those two chief chapters of our national history. In the illustrious anti-slavery group, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, and Lowell would all have place."

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